

... JOHN ROCHE ON ...
... Khomeini, Willy Brandt ...
... and much more ...
see page 1226

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OCTOBER 16, 1981

NATIONAL REVIEW

LOOKING
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CONSERVATIVE
THEORY, I

Erik von
Kuehnelt-Leddihn

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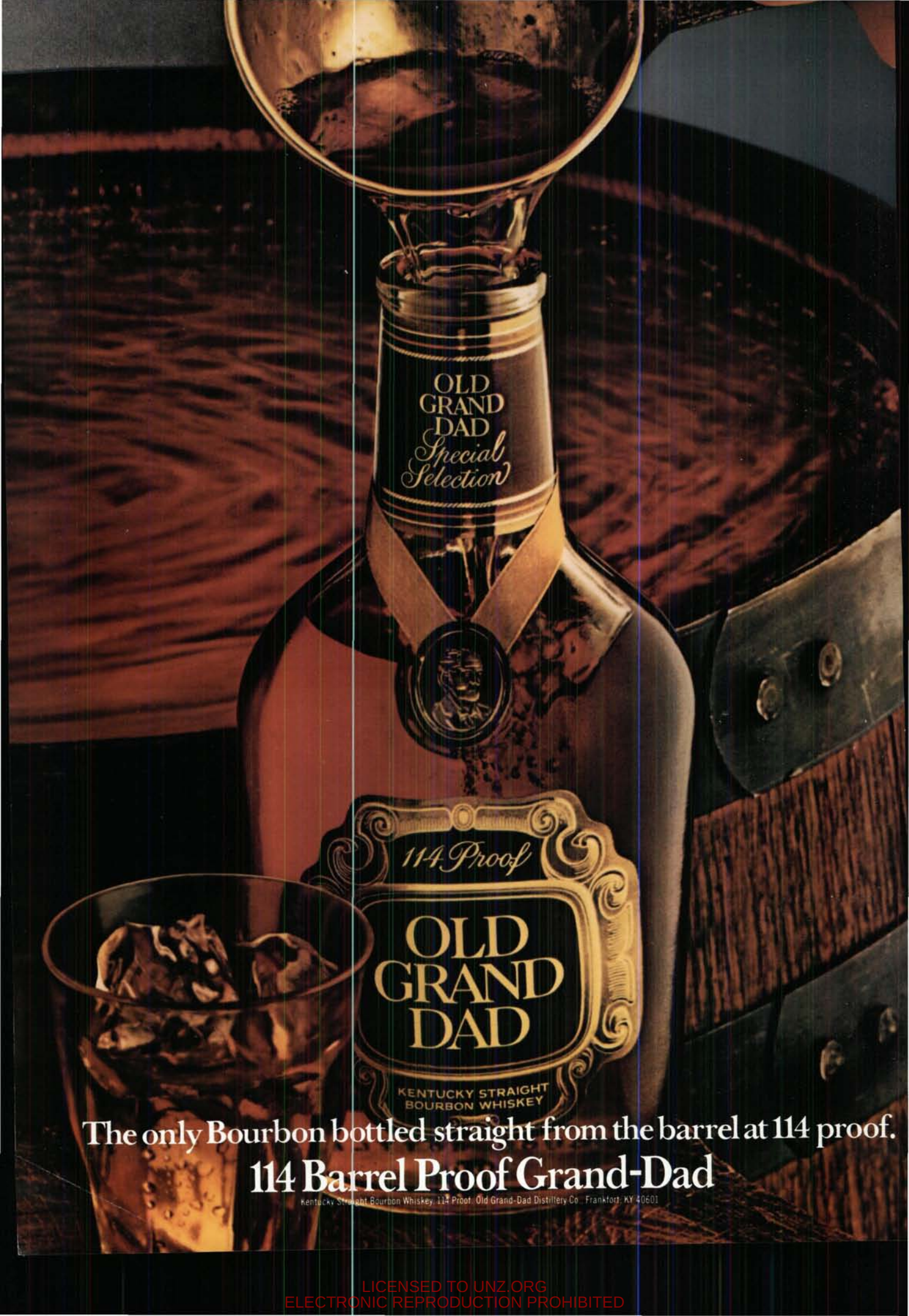
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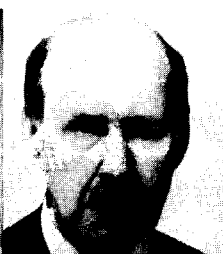
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LEDDIHN
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COXE
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BUCKLEY
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MEYERS
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What Is Conservatism?

1188 The Portland Statement

With this issue we launch a new series of essays by distinguished conservatives, who will seek to restate the conservative position in a form appropriate to the Eighties. We begin with one of Europe's most remarkable conservatives, who suggests that political wisdom strikes a balance between the human desires for consistency and variety, and that the curse of ideology has been its attempt to make uniform what should instead be harmonized.

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

Articles & Columns

1186 Tax Cuts

The *New York Times* missed the point. Even George Will missed the point. Here's the point.

Tom Bethell

1187 The Irish Mess

Replies to critics, and a glimpse of an ultimate resolution.

Brian Crozier

1198 The KGB in Canada (Yawn)

The national symbol is a beaver. Maybe it ought to be a mole.

Donald Coxe

1204 The Breakthrough in Algebra

The author's previous article (in our May 29 issue) got a response that ranged from warm to heated. Here he details the success of his teaching method, as compared with the standard way, and tells us how to see that our children get the benefit of it.

John Saxon

1208 An Angry Ex-Resident Looks—Angrily— At the Current Scene

Five years of Democracy have brought chaos to Spain: crime, political violence, pornography, inflation, and a sudden decline in traditional Spanish notions of honor. Even the national character has changed.

F. Reid Buckley

New Feature

- 1226** We are proud to present, as a regular feature, the commentary of one of the best writers in the business, under the heading "A Word Edgewise." Mr. John P. Roche's observations will appear in every issue, with special emphasis on international events and foreign policy. Our initial offering is culled from his columns over the past six months, beginning with May Day in Poland.

Books Arts & Manners

- 1212** Aaron Wildavsky examines two brilliant new books on ethnicity and economics by Thomas Sowell, and Joseph Sobran discusses the man who has taken an "empirical ball and crane" to liberal conventional wisdom. . . . Terry Teachout wishes Raymond Sokolov were a discriminating admirer, rather than just a fan, of his subject, A. J. Liebling. . . . Jeffrey Meyers suffers through Philip Roth's latest. . . . Ruth Berenson welcomes a new study of German Romantic painting. . . . John Simon crowns *Prince of the City*. . . . Richard Brookhiser reports on a great art museum in Taiwan. . . . D. Keith Mano returns to the scene of an earlier column.

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Cover design by James W. O'Bryan



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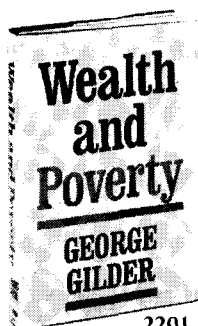
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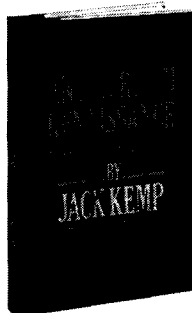
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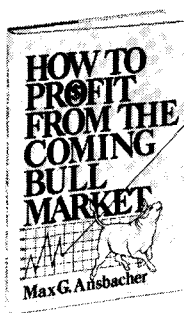
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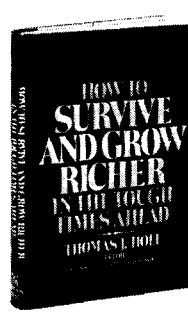
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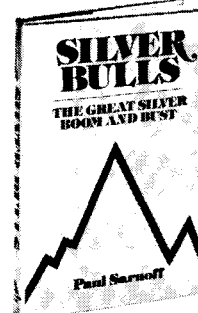
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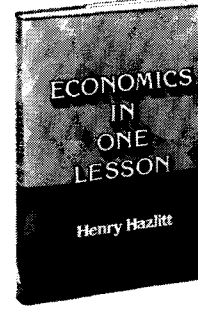
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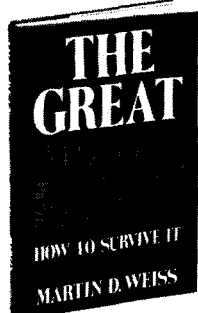
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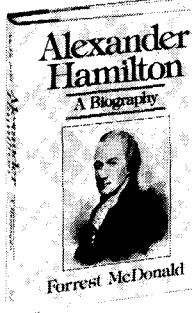
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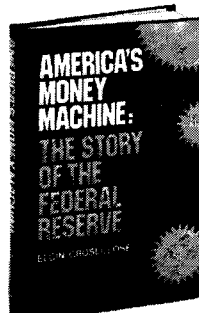
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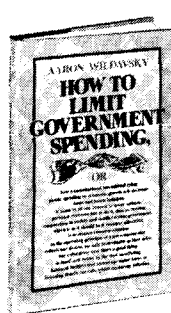
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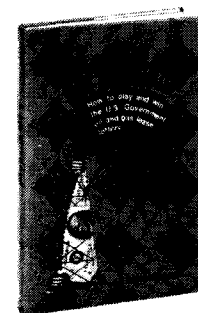
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Letters

Reality Instructions

History instructs that he who lives by the sword frequently succumbs to the sword.

That thought comes to mind as I contemplate the antics of our air controllers ["They Struck a Blow for Tyranny," Oct. 2]. They chose to do violence to our economy, to the individual job, and to the law. One should not be surprised if they were treated in kind.

I am a professional pilot. I feel no compassion for those hooligans. "Stress" is universal. There is nothing unique about the controllers' position. Fifteen minutes on a drilling-rig floor would surely convince them that they are among God's chosen few. If, indeed, their job is driving them to drink, then perhaps future tests to explore their aptitudes for the job ought to be designed in order to discover the more stoic among us.

But of course their view is a symptom of the times—i.e., the notion that we are "entitled" to the good life with a minimum of effort. The English attempted a frontal assault on Utopia and their position is dismal—they may never recover. This nation produced itself to superpower status. There is no other formula. Surely the caveman discovered very early that either he got off his ass, or he starved to death. The work ethic is not peculiar to modern man.

D. Rothenbuecher
Houma, La.

Vietnam War Memorial

Permit me, if I may, to voice total disagreement with my beloved colleagues of *NR* on the matter of the proposed Viet-

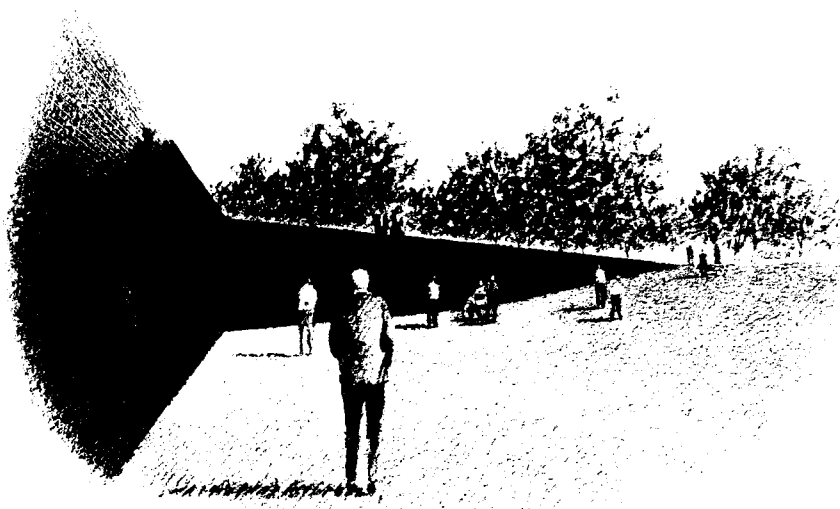
nam war memorial in Washington ["The Week," Sept. 18]. Far from being an "outrage," the winning design approaches a level of architectural genius. It promises to be the most moving war memorial ever constructed.

The design is simple, stark, somber. It speaks of what war is all about. And because I have ever believed that a tenet of conservatism is to focus upon the individual as distinct from the mass, I cannot understand how you could object to the carving of the names of the 56,700 dead on the black marble walls of the memorial.

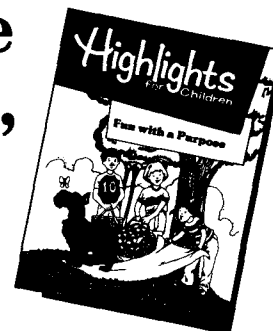
I am especially dismayed that you have given further currency to the untruth that the war in Vietnam "is not in fact mentioned on the monument itself." This simply is not so. The canard resulted from an erroneous report in the *Wall Street Journal* some months ago, and it has plagued the sponsors ever since. The *WSJ* ran a correction, but we all know that falsehood flies on falcons' wings while truth pursues in wooden shoes.

You would prefer a piece of "suitable sculpture," on the model of memorials to Gettysburg or Appomattox. Bosh! Such memorials gather moss in every village square from Mobile to Manchester. Washington is full of suitable sculptures, and with perhaps half a dozen exceptions they are dreadful—pedestrian examples of the stonemason's skill. These "suitable sculptures" arouse no emotion whatever. The proposed Vietnam memorial, believe me, will pack an unforgettable wallop.

James J. Kilpatrick
Woodville, Va.



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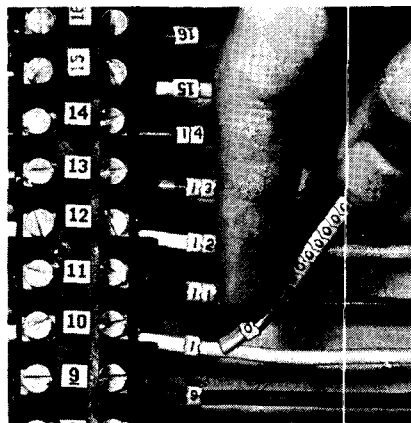
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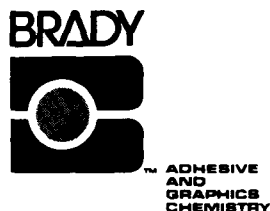
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You are free not to like the design for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, but you should at least have correct facts before putting the project down. First of all, Maya Lin, the young designer of the memorial, has never publicly expressed either support or opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. She has, however, expressed sincere support and compassion for the men and women who served and died. The memorial is not intended, nor was it designed, to make a political statement about the war. Its purpose is to honor and recognize the war's veterans and dead for their honorable service and sacrifice.

Secondly, you represent that the memorial will be "surrounded by contoured mounds of earth," but the design calls for nothing of the kind. [The illustration on this page is the designer's rendering.] Furthermore, the memorial will be appropriately identified as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Any "clear political message" in the design is solely in the eyes of the beholder. You find one in the fact that the memorial's walls will be black. So are the Iwo Jima Memorial and the Seabees Memorial. What political message do you find in them? Who says that the mode of listing the names makes them like traffic-accident victims? Just you and *The New Republic*. Indeed, an alphabetical listing would do that, not the chronological one, which integrates the names into the entire experience of the war.

The memorial will extend over four hundred feet in length and occupy almost two acres on one of the most prominent sites in the city. It will be invisible only to those who don't wish to acknowledge Vietnam veterans. You see the "peace sign" in the wide "V" shape formed by its walls. More astute observers see the chevron of the PFC, who bore the brunt of the fighting in the war.

The effort for the memorial was initiated from scratch and is being directed by Vietnam veterans to ensure that our comrades who served and died finally receive their due acknowledgment from American society—an end that neither the government nor anyone else was apparently willing or able to accomplish.

Robert W. Doubek
Project Director
Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund
Box 37240
Washington, D.C.

The Wall Street Journal was not the only paper to report that the name of the Vietnam War would not be carved on the Vietnam Memorial. The Washington Post's Henry Allen wrote (May 5) that "the design does not mention the war itself, or the Republic of South Vietnam: only the names of the dead." Mr. Allen continued: "Asked about that fact, Robert Doubek,

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David F. Horrobin, M.A., D.Phil., B.M., B.Ch.:

ALCOHOL—BLESSING AND CURSE OF MANKIND!

New research leads to simple nutritional techniques for controlling the bad effects and exploiting the good ones

PUBLISHER'S NOTE: After studying anatomy and physiology at Oxford University, England, Dr. Horrobin taught there as a Fellow (Don) while working for his doctorate in Neurophysiology, and went on to take his medical training at St. Mary's Hospital Medical School, London. He has served as Chairman of the Department of Medical Physiology at the University of Nairobi Medical School, Kenya, on the faculty of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in England, and in 1975 became Professor of Medicine at the University of Montreal. A pioneer in the study of essential fatty acids and prostaglandins (now often referred to as "magical" hormone-like substances), he heads his own research organization specializing in the investigation of nutrition-drug interactions in medicine and also is Medical Adviser to the Schizophrenia Association of Great Britain.

Since Biblical times, alcohol has been regarded as both blessing and curse.

"Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whoever is deceived thereby is not wise," according to

Proverbs. Yet the Psalms claim that "Wine . . . maketh glad the heart of man," and even stern Paul tells Timothy to "Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities."

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project director, said: 'Does Washington's name appear on the Washington monument? You have to be very oblivious to reality to not know where they died.' " As to the meaning of the "V" shape, the New York Times (June 6) quotes architect Maya Ying Lin: "The 'V' shape doesn't have anything to do with 'Vietnam,' or 'victory,' or 'veteran.'" The symbolism of the PFC chevron is imaginative. Was it an afterthought? —MS

For the Record

Your "For the Record" page must be deemed the most enlightening and interesting page in print. It is only unfortunate that contents of this great page don't reach an audience one-hundred-fold as large.

So Ed Asner has joined the controllers' picket line [Sept. 4]; by this act and many past acts, for the name to suit the person why doesn't he delete the latter three letters of last name and double the second letter?

Will Karr
 New Brunswick, N.J.

Roll Over, Timothy Dwight

WFB's column "St. Giamatti and the Moral Majority" [Oct. 2] is great.

Dr. Giamatti, President of Yale, thinks it necessary to warn freshmen of dangers flowing from the preaching of Christian morality. It was being preached in 1701, when Yale was founded, and throughout American history in the constitutional free exercise of religion. Since 1822 the institution Dr. Giamatti now heads has maintained a Divinity School, presumably to produce preachers of Christian morality.

Dr. Giamatti, myopic chief of a divinity school, warns against the shepherds but sees no wolves.

Fred T. Hanson
 McCook, Neb.

Correction

This is a mild letter of protest. I have just read Mr. Forrest McDonald on Northern Ireland ["The Unsinkable Myths," Sept. 4] in which he cites me for writing that Belfast and Londonderry look like German cities at the end of World War II. I never wrote that. What I wrote is that these two Irish cities looked like German cities in 1941 or 1942—which is quite a difference. Your editors should be more careful not to expose an author to ridicule.

Erik v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn
 Lanz, Tyrol, Austria
 (Continues on page 1223)

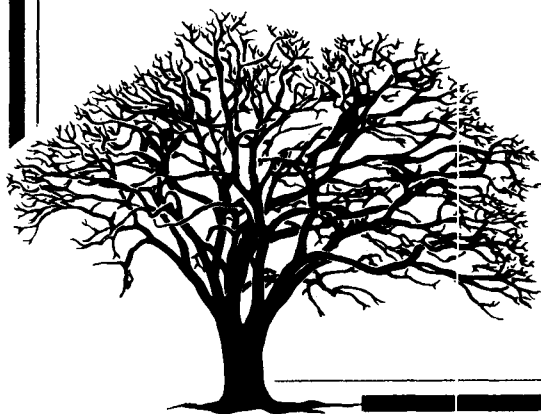
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Yes, that's the *New Oxford Review*! We strongly support the Polish Pope's valiant efforts to protect Poland from the Soviet imperialists and to enhance social justice, both in Poland and throughout the world. Moreover, we unabashedly champion the Pope in his struggle to save Christian orthodoxy from Hans Kung and all the other questionable theologians who have had a field day undermining the faith and morals of a generation of Catholics. And yes, we are cheeky — but then, we believe that with John Paul II on the throne of Peter, orthodox Catholics no longer have an excuse to hide their light under a bushel.

We are a **new and unique** monthly opinion magazine, the kind that Catholics have been searching for — in many cases — for decades. As one professor in Massachusetts wrote us, "Your strong defense of Pope John Paul II in the Hans Kung affair warmed my heart. I wish that other Catholic magazines (one of which I first subscribed to some 33 years ago) had exhibited such courage. I have found some of the best rendering of Catholic teaching and tradition in your *Review* — and not in Catholic periodicals of like format, where one would normally expect to find it."

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PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

FOR THE RECORD

■ Into this vale of tears some joy must fall. On Oct. 1, the **Community Services Administration**, slated for interment by **Richard Nixon** in 1969 when it was the Office of Economic Opportunity, became the first important federal agency to go out of business since WWII. (Comments **Ronald Reagan**: "A government program is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll see on the earth.") . . . On the same day, *Washington Post* front-pager reported massive slashes in the staff of the Environmental Protection Agency. Administrator **Anne Gorsuch** plans to cut 30 per cent of the staff (3,200) by 1983. . . . Meanwhile, the Justice Department reports it will continue to prosecute discrimination cases but will not go that one step further and insist on preferential hiring, which, says Civil Rights head **William Bradford Reynolds**, smacks of "meeting discrimination with discrimination." . . . Latest *Times*-CBS News poll shows Reagan's approval rating has slipped to 53 per cent from June high of 59 per cent. But the latest **Gallup** show the people favor giving the President's economic program time to work by a 2 to 1 margin. . . . Datum: All sorts of celebrities turned out for **Ralph Nader's** 1,000-buck-a-plate Gala Tenth Anniversary (of his public ministry) Dinner in Washington last week; not a single congressman or senator put in an appearance.

■ Looking ahead: **Robert Redford** indicates he may be interested in running against Sen. **Orrin Hatch** in Utah. A recent (*Deseret News*) poll there shows that in any such contest Hatch would lead Redford 69 to 18. Same poll, however, showed Democratic Gov. **Scott Matheson** ahead of Hatch (49 to 41). . . . In New York, an AP/WNBC poll shows 7 out of 10 voters hope Gov.



Holland. *Sunday Telegraph*

Rothco

"Allowing for a 15.2 per cent inflation rate, I feel like a million dollars!"

Hugh Carey does not run for re-election next year. . . . In Massachusetts, **Tip III**, the Lieutenant Governor, is running hard, but his target seems not to be his boss, conservative Democratic Gov. **Edward J. King** but former far-from-conservative Gov. **Michael Dukakis**. . . . New Jersey poll (**Penn and Schoen**) gives **Jeff Bell** a 2 to 1 lead over other likely Republican candidates for Sen. **Harrison Williams's** seat, except for Rep. **Millicent Fenwick**. Poll was taken before Mrs. Fenwick, 71, announced that her doctors would not oppose her running. . . . In Virginia, a possible senatorial run by Republican Rep. **Paul Trible** is now considered likely and could be source of rumors that independent **Harry Byrd** may move into the Republican Party. . . . New York's re-districting could put two conservative freshman congressmen, **John (Harvard Hates America) LeBoutillier** and **Greg Carmen** in the same district. (One of Carmen's legislative assistants is **Eugene Meyer**, son of **Frank and Elsie**.)

■ Fascinating: A *L'Express* poll taken

after **François Mitterrand's** first hundred days shows him with 45 per cent approval rating. Mitterrand does better with working class/small shopkeepers, 50 per cent; better still with **Socialists**, 69 per cent, but best of all with the **Communists**; 79 per cent approve his stewardship, only 11 disapprove. . . . Another poll, of French **industrialists**, taken shortly after Mitterrand's election, sees a fall-off of 12 per cent in French investments in coming year. . . . The story that the Vatican and the Italian police suspect the **Pope's** shooting resulted from his support of **Lech Walesa's** Solidarity has gotten far bigger newspaper and TV play in Europe than in the States. . . . Of great concern to Soviet strategists: an estimated 20 per cent of the 300,000 members of the **Polish armed forces** are members of Solidarity.

■ The **French-Mexican** endorsement of Salvadoran rebels has bombed, at least in Latin America, where nine nations have protested formally to Mexico. In Mexico, editorialists and columnists have been most critical of President **José López Portillo** and of his friendship for "the nefarious eunuch of the Caribbean." . . . In Caracas, the Communist Party has accused the Venezuelan government of sending military advisors to El Salvador to help the **Duarte** government against the rebels. . . . Unconfirmed reports from Guatemala City say North Vietnamese have been found among the very active guerrillas in that country.

■ And just what, by the way, does the **Interparliamentary Union** think it is doing holding its annual meeting in Havana—which hasn't seen a free election in 21 years?

THE WEEK

■ The sheriff of St. Joseph county, Indiana, has resigned over some silly legal dispute about letting a whorehouse continue in operation and asking the madam for a political contribution. If the government can't dispense favors of this sort, what on earth good is the government? Can't we buy thousands of tons of dried milk and butter to store in a cave, to help milk producers? Can't we exempt labor unions from taxes? Bail out Lockheed and Chrysler? Repair New York subways and San Francisco cable cars? Tax the productive to support the retired? Who's going to support the millions of wonderfully productive bureaucrats if we can't spread it around? Is anybody out there listening?

■ As of August 5, 1981, the number of pages in the Federal Register for the year had reached 39,982. On August 5, 1980, the count was 52,176. Small potatoes you say? But when was the last time anyone could point to a 23 per cent reduction in government-produced *anything*?

■ Having united the workers of Poland—and shaken the rulers of the Soviet Union—Poland's Solidarity trade union is going international. On September 24 in New York City, Zygmunt M. Przetakiewicz, with all of two weeks in the United States under his belt, held a press conference announcing the formation of The Friends of Poland's Independent Trade Union "Solidarity" Inc. The new organization, which is technically independent of Solidarity, plans to disseminate news of the union throughout the U.S. and to promote the principles of, and to lend assistance to, Solidarity. Started with financial help from the AFL-

Dan Rather's Poker Face

South Africa brings on a pout;
Spain turns his lips into a spout.
San Salvador's said with a frown,
While Mrs. Thatcher gets him down,
Along with Secretary Watt:
He mouths them, but would rather not.
When Richard Nixon's in the script
His face looks ready for the crypt.

W. H. VON DREELE

CIO, Solidarity's American offspring intends to fund its operations via contributions and subscriptions to a news bulletin. Although the Kremlin appears to be outraged by Solidarity's American beachhead, it's probably just envy at Solidarity's globe-hopping powers, without any need of Cuban surrogates.

■ Jack Henry Abbott is in custody, having spoiled the day of his literary triumph by stabbing a young man to death. It took federal authorities a month to catch up with him, during which time there was considerable brooding among the New York literati as to whether it had really been wise for Norman to take him under the wing. After all, it turned out that he meant, literally, all that violent Marxist stuff about what "society" had turned him into: a killer. *In the Belly of the Beast* may have given them a good old racial chic *frisson*, but it's a loner's *Mein Kampf*, self-revealing, self-justifying, its author separated from *Der Führer* only by a certain disparity of leadership qualities. Nobody, not Mailer certainly, thought he was innocent: in fact his attraction lay in his hatred of normal American life, which he and his patrons have now expressed in every mode available to them.

■ *Beautiful*, the first paragraph from the *Washington Post's* Henry Allen story on the tenth anniversary of Ralph Nader's *Nader's Raiders*: "Shambling toward the New Jerusalem, traipsing through the apocalypse, marching as to war; these secular crusaders, these latter-day saints of puritanism, these American dreamers, these Holy Rollers of liberal rationalism we've known for 15 years as Nader's Raiders have gathered here at the Shoreham Hotel, more than one thousand of them, whining and dining, to discuss the present danger, which is to say life itself."

■ VOICES OF MODERATION. Carl Rowan, in his syndicated column: "Vidkun Quisling, in his collaboration with the Nazis, surely did not do as much damage to the Norwegians as [Thomas] Sowell is doing to the most helpless of black Americans. Sowell is giving aid and comfort to America's racists and to those who, in the name of conservatism and frugality, are taking food out of the mouths of black children, consigning hundreds of thousands of black teenagers to joblessness and hopelessness, and making government a party to at least the partial resegregation of America." Whew! Lucky we have those anti-lynching laws.

■ Egyptian President Anwar Sadat reveals that he has found something exceedingly useful to do with all those old Soviet arms clogging his warehouses. He sells them to the United States, which in turn airlifts them up to the "rebels" in Afghanistan, who in turn use them to control 90 per cent of their own country

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

between a liberal and a conservative, note the Washington reaction to the President's recent New Orleans speech on crime. Washington libs see little more in the speech than a few second-hand law-and-order platitudes. Conservatives, on the other hand, see in it a diagnosis of compelling clarity, one that charts another powerful (revolutionary) redirection for the country.

For several decades, the U.S. has been lulled by a group of pseudo-intellectual elitists and "educationists" into believing that crime is caused by poverty, unemployment, and disadvantaged status, notwithstanding the fact that during the Great Depression, the FBI Uniform Crime Reports showed stable or reducing crime rates, and that during the Great Society—when poverty declined and federal expenditures on social/economic programs mushroomed—crime has shot up to what the President described as an "epidemic."

"The war on crime," said Reagan, "will only be won when an attitude of mind and a change of heart take place in America, when certain truths take hold again and plant their roots deep into our national consciousness. Truths like right and wrong matter; individuals are responsible for their actions; retribution should be swift and sure for those who prey on the innocent."

When Reagan discussed his philosophy of human nature ("men are basically good but prone to evil") and the natural law ("murder is not forbidden as a matter of subjective opinion; it is objectively evil"), he sounded as though the speech were written by Jacques Maritain. "Many of the social thinkers of the 1950s and '60s who discussed

If you want to cut right to the heart of the distinction today

crime only in the context of disadvantaged childhood and poverty-stricken neighborhoods were the same people who thought that massive government spending could wipe away our social ills." Some Washington wags are referring to the speech as a Papal Encyclical on the Causes, Remedies, and Reduction of Crime; the first of a series on the subject by Pope Ronald I.

What was the underlying promise in both instances? That there was "nothing permanent or absolute about any man's nature—that he was a product of his material environment and that by changing that environment—with government as the chief vehicle of change through education, health, housing, and other big spending programs—we could permanently change man and usher in a great new era."

In future speeches (encyclicals?) and messages to Congress watch for Ronald Reagan to sharpen the crime focus and emphasize that: 1) *Efforts at rehabilitation of criminals have largely failed.* Given this state of uncertainty, the balance of equity lies in favor of law-abiding citizens, and thereby justifies long criminal sentences. 2) *Recidivism cannot be spotted in advance.* Long years of trying to select out those criminals likely to recidivate from those not likely to do so have failed. Since some 5 per cent of criminals commit 40 per cent or more of all crimes, virtually all serious offenders must be given long prison sentences. 3) *Age is the most consistently associated factor in reduced criminal activity.* When people reach forty or over, criminal activity lessens and nobody knows precisely why. Again, this enforces the idea that strict and long prison sentences for the serious offender should be invoked. 4) *Crime rates for burglary, murder, rape, and homicide are highest among those 25 years of age*

or younger. Accordingly, youth offender statutes (ordaining the most lenient treatment for young criminals) must be revised. 5) *Our vaunted U.S. criminal-justice system, which Americans think is as sacred as the Wood of the True Cross, actually lags behind European models by at least fifty years.* The major problems with our system? It lacks a conceptual foundation and (don't panic) the balance of interest between society and the individual tilts too much to the latter.

■ Al Haig is looking better all the time. One reason for this is that the other Reagan Administration foreign-policy principals, Cap Weinberger and Dick Allen, have been not inconsiderably blackened by the AWACS tar baby, while Haig highroads it with Andrei Gromyko in New York. Also, Haig's agility and sensitivity are growing as, e.g., his West Berlin appearance at the twentieth anniversary of the Berlin Wall, watched closely here, showed. Sixty thousand Germans demonstrated against Haig (the U.S. under Reagan is somewhat too "militarist" for their tastes), about ten thousand of whom were extremists.

During his prepared address, Haig interpolated remarks that the size and exuberance of the demonstration had not escaped his notice, but that he was not saddened by it. What the agitation shows, he said, is the magnificent power of democracy. The very fact that these demonstrators can express their opposition to his being there, he said, shows how democracy works, and how much the U.S. has done to preserve democracy in that embattled city. It was a delicate and quick-witted aside. It deflected some high emotion, won Haig diplomatic plaudits, and made the U.S. more than a few grudging friends. —CATO

and keep their Soviet liberators pinned down in the few areas they hold. Congratulations all around.

■ Is Khomeini mellowing? Iran's revolutionary whoozis denies reports that children have been sent to the firing squad for treason. Tut-tut: spare the AK-47, and spoil the child.

■ The SALT I treaty notwithstanding, what can be said in favor of building anti-ballistic missile systems to shoot down incoming nuclear warheads? The ques-

tion, put by a *U.S. News & World Report* interviewer, drew a double-barreled answer from the Hudson Institute's Herman Kahn. First, "when you are dealing with strategic weapons, it's better to emphasize defense rather than offense, because of the destruction such weapons can cause." Second, "the most critical reason is the vulnerability of our land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles to a Soviet first strike. The growing accuracy of Soviet missiles has turned our Minutemen into exposed targets. We need a crash program to defend them—and for the short run, there is no

The Dutch Disease

It's fear itself that leaves them shaken.
They'd rather see Eindhoven taken
Than risk a single SS-20
Erupting in their land of plenty.
Their attitude sure ain't courageous.
The worry is, Is it contagious?

W. H. VON DREELE

quicker, cheaper, or more effective way to do it than with an ABM system. It's time to get on with it." Those are cogent thoughts to be kept in mind as the argument proceeds.

■ Scoop! The anti-government Archbishop of San Salvador is shot down in his cathedral while saying Mass and his murderers are, presumably, right-wing vigilantes. Give it front-page treatment. Scoop! Four American missionaries are found foully murdered on a side road in El Salvador, presumably done in on the orders of Duarte's secret polic. Break open that front page. Scoop! An American Maryknoll priest working with a TV news team disappears from his hotel in San Salvador and is presumed murdered by right-wing gangsters. Banner it, give it the lead on the evening news. Day after day. Scoop! The bishops of El Salvador express their "stupefaction" that the French and Mexican governments should recognize the Salvadoran guerrillas "who have lost the support of the people and are currently devoting themselves to spreading terror among the population." Blackout. You didn't see it on any page of any English-language newspaper, front, middle, or back, nor on CBS, NBC, or ABC. It's a non-story. The Catholic bishops of El Salvador are not *supposed* to support the government (the Catholic Bishops of the U.S.A. obviously are more sophisticated about such things). So don't run it, don't even report it. *NR* got it from an Agence France Presse story in Miami's *Diario Las Americas*, courtesy of its favorite Merchant of Death.

■ "I suppose I wouldn't object to someone calling me a feminist, as long as they realize that I'm a scientist first." So says Camilla Benbow, who has a PhD in educational psychology and is a professor at Johns Hopkins. But today Dr. Benbow finds her throat in the threatening hands of militant feminists because she co-published last year the results of an eight-year study that found that males have a higher aptitude for math than females; the study concluded that the difference may well be genetic. Eight months after the project was made public, Mrs. Benbow continues to get letters, phone calls, and challenges when she

speaks in public. She says, "I think it's degrading that there is a certain faction of militant feminists who attempt to turn matters of science into issues of politics. As a woman, I don't necessarily like the findings, but I can't deny that they exist."

■ A Schedule-C White House appointment working in the Department of Education, occasional-*NR* contributor Greg Fossedal, has compiled a 15-page outline of regulations recently eliminated by Secretary T. H. Bell. Some of the highlights: an explanation, some two-hundred-plus words long, 11 paragraphs in all, on how to mail a letter to the Department; a 180-word definition of the term "instructional equipment"; an answer to the much-asked question, "do psychometers count as grantees for 'gifted and talented children'?" (no they don't); a provision for federally funded community education centers to use "satellite or mobile facilities, which may be nonpublic facilities provided they are made available for use by the public"; and—this is our favorite—a 1980 ruling reassuring educators that "motivation of the student is consistent with accepted strategies for effective teaching." Fossedal's paper, *Regulation Horror Shows*, can be obtained by writing to the Department of Education in Washington.

■ Nearly one hundred friends and admirers gathered at Hillsdale College last month to pay tribute to the late Dr. Ludwig von Mises, the giant of the Austrian school of economics that has so enriched the resources of free men. The occasion was the hundredth anniversary of his birth. The guests were addressed by such distinguished economists as Drs. Israel Kirzner, William Peterson, and Fritz Machlup, among others, and by Margit von Mises, who shared personal recollections of her husband. Guests also toured the Mises room at Hillsdale, which holds his personal library and papers, as Mises specified. It was, all told, a most moving tribute, in the stimulating setting that only tiny Hillsdale, among all our institutions of higher education, seems able to provide.

■ About those slowly rising living standards in the Soviet Union, émigrés in touch with the old country report serious food and clothing shortages even in Moscow, with only salt and bread available in state food stores, and workers rationed to one pair of shoes per year. The breakdown of the state-run system has overloaded the free peasant market, requiring one to be in line before dawn to pick up such delicacies as bone and pork lard. Meanwhile, youths in Riga are sporting T-shirts with the slogan "Latvian Power"—in English. Soviet Moslems are reproducing themselves three to four times faster than Russians, and vodka has doubled in price.

■ The Iraqi-Irani war—which began either on September 4 or 22, 1980, according to which side's version is accepted—is now dragging into its second year, with the Iraqis nowhere near their goal of nailing down exclusive control of the Shatt al Arab waterway and Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini yet to make headway toward overwhelming Saddam Hussein's "godless" regime at Baghdad with Shi'ite military power. Both sides still vow determination to fight to the last man—an ultimate strait lying at infinity if going rates of attrition persist. Indeed, war losses on the Iranian side appear to run a distinct second to political slaughter, as to which the 81-year-old Ayatollah said in a radio speech the other day, "Islam is revived by this kind of bloodshed." Teheran throngs, in a masterpiece of irrelevancy, shouted "Death to the United States" in street demonstrations marking the war's first anniversary. All the same, it is probably a good thing that Iraq has missed its goal. That point aside, it's an easy war to feel neutral about.

■ As many as half a million Vietnamese could soon be wending their way west—to the Soviet Union. The Kremlin pumps around \$6 million a day into Vietnam, and Brezhnev wants something in return: Vietnamese workers to help fill some of the two million job vacancies in the USSR. Some of the "guest workers" will land in Bulgaria and other Eastern European satellites, but most will end up in places like Siberia, remote areas of the USSR that have difficulty "enticing" workers. The Vietnamese won't cost the Soviets much money—40 per cent of their wages will be in local currency and the remaining 60 per cent will be credited against Vietnam's massive debts to its Communist neighbors, now in the vicinity of \$3 billion. Besides doing the good neighborly thing, Vietnam's rulers will derive another benefit: with fewer mouths to feed they'll be able to stretch the food ration. Right now a kilo of meat costs two weeks' wages on the Vietnamese black market.

■ The Portland Declaration, which begins on page 1188, went to press before these words were written. Some readers may infer that Mr. Leddihn is the author of the Declaration. In fact he acted merely as a transcriber of thoughts and analyses made by those who attended the conference. However, Mr. Leddihn is in sympathy with the Declaration's emphases.

■ UPI reports mysteriously that a Medfly has been found at Los Angeles International Airport, but neglects to say whether the beast was leaving or arriving, on what airline, with what kind of luggage.

■ The city of Washington, D.C. has legalized sodomy and other sex acts between consenting adults. Now if

they'd only legalize capitalism between consenting adults for the rest of us.

■ Johnnie and Frances Morris of Los Angeles seem to be in some sort of trouble with the law for collecting \$350,000 in welfare for their 235 children. Our view is that if Reaganomics is going to take money away from needy kids like these, it stinks.

Reagan on the Ropes?

Bickering and disagreement. Aides speaking in tongues. Apparent self-contradictions. A dead in the water feeling.

We've been here before, we Reagan watchers: after the inauguration, when the slowest transition team in history was still struggling to put itself together; during the October campaign doldrums; in the months before the Iowa caucuses, when a scrappy Bush organization scabbled up votes and the giant Reagan campaign slumbered. And we've heard the diagnoses of the pundits: he's old; he's lazy; out of touch; doesn't have it; third down and twenty to go; only a matter of time before his younger/meaner/wilier opponent romps to victory . . .

Well, young George Bush is now his Vice President, and mean Jimmy Carter is learning how to use a word processor in his ample spare time, and wily Tip O'Neill is still recovering from the worst drubbing administered to a Speaker of the House in memory, so maybe there's a pattern here. Anyway you like it, Mr. President, so long as it works.

The Ties That Divide

"There are still a number of issues that divide us," Secretary of State Alexander Haig observed, with exemplary understatement, following his serial tête-à-tête with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. In amplification, a State Department functionary remarked that he knew of no area in which the two sides had said they agreed on anything. That was hardly news. A meeting of minds on strategic competition, human rights, Soviet emigration, Poland, Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Middle East, Africa, or Latin America would have been positively startling. As to their differences concerning theater nuclear forces in Europe, the two sides—again no surprise—did concur formally on an opening of negotiations next month in Geneva.

There the prospect is by no means affirmative. The Soviet Union favors including all types of theater delivery vehicles in the scope of negotiation. The U.S.

wishes to confine the agenda to missiles. The optimum outcome, from the U.S. standpoint, would be withdrawal of the Soviet Union's burgeoning SS-20s in return for withholding of U.S. ground-launched Pershing II and cruise missiles—a fact traded off for a contingency. The glaciation of hell is more probable than Soviet acceptance of a zero-zero deal of that sort.

One bright element in the outlook is the willingness of Paul H. Nitze—with his unsurpassed grasp of weaponry and long experience as a public servant—to head the U.S. negotiating team at Geneva. For all his acumen and energy, Nitze is going on 75, and his willingness to undertake one more arduous chore is commendable. An affirmative outcome could well be beyond reach of his talents, but his authority in the field should be a big help in reconciling this country's reluctant allies to the necessities imposed by the strategic realities.

Proto-fascism in England

Very interesting things are happening in those islands off the coast of Europe.

A moment of long-range perspective is called for. According to the orthodox academic interpretation, British politics involves a centrist dialectic. The Labor Party presses “ahead” with egalitarian and nationalizing policies, but does not go too fast and adheres steadfastly to democratic procedures. The Conservative Party, when in power, tidies things up administratively, but does not “turn back the clock.” Such is the view, for example, of Harvard's distinguished professor of government Samuel Beer. Such, in a larger time frame, is the thesis of J. H. Plumb's *The Origins of Political Stability*.

Implicit in all of this interpretation is that what *did* happen, supposedly, *should* happen. Politically, England led the way. The Mother of Parliaments. Democracy in an industrial setting.

But England has just thrown away the script.

And once it did so, everyone suddenly woke up to the fact that “British political stability” was a kind of Victorian illusion. Ask Sir Walter Raleigh. Ask Charles I, or Bonnie Prince Charlie. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, British politics was about as stable as the politics of El Salvador, and we may now be returning to historical form.

Last week, Denis Healey retained his deputy leadership of the Labor Party. He turned back by a microscopic margin the challenge of Tony Benn. Healey's was a pyrrhic victory. Benn's *politics* have triumphed in the Labor Party. The *issues* are one thing, and not the most important—unilateral disarmament, nationalization, the abolition of private schools—but the *politics* are what matter now, and

here Denis Healey is a mere footnote. Bennism amounts to a Left dictatorship exercised through labor union bosses and leftist militants at the local level. It short-circuits the representative function of Parliament. It is antidemocratic and revolutionary. Bennism is precisely the British equivalent of the European fascist movements in the early Thirties before they grabbed the levers of state power. (*NR* does not use the terminology polemically, but, rather, descriptively. Fascism involves specific forms. They characteristically include a charismatic—and *single*—leader, a hatred of representative government and free markets, a friendliness toward violence, and rule through extra-parliamentary structures. Bennism possesses all of these characteristics.)

At the same time, there has been a substantial centrist breakaway with the formation of the new Social Democratic-Liberal alliance. Unlike Benn, these people—Roy Jenkins, Shirley Williams, etc.—really believe in representative democracy. But also, unlike Benn—key point—they have no social or economic program. They stand for democratic process plus more of the same. Therefore, despite their current high standing in the opinion polls, their longer-range political prospects do not look very bright.

The Conservatives under Margaret Thatcher are now running *third* in the polls. While they do not face an immediate general election, rank and file Conservatives are becoming extremely restive.

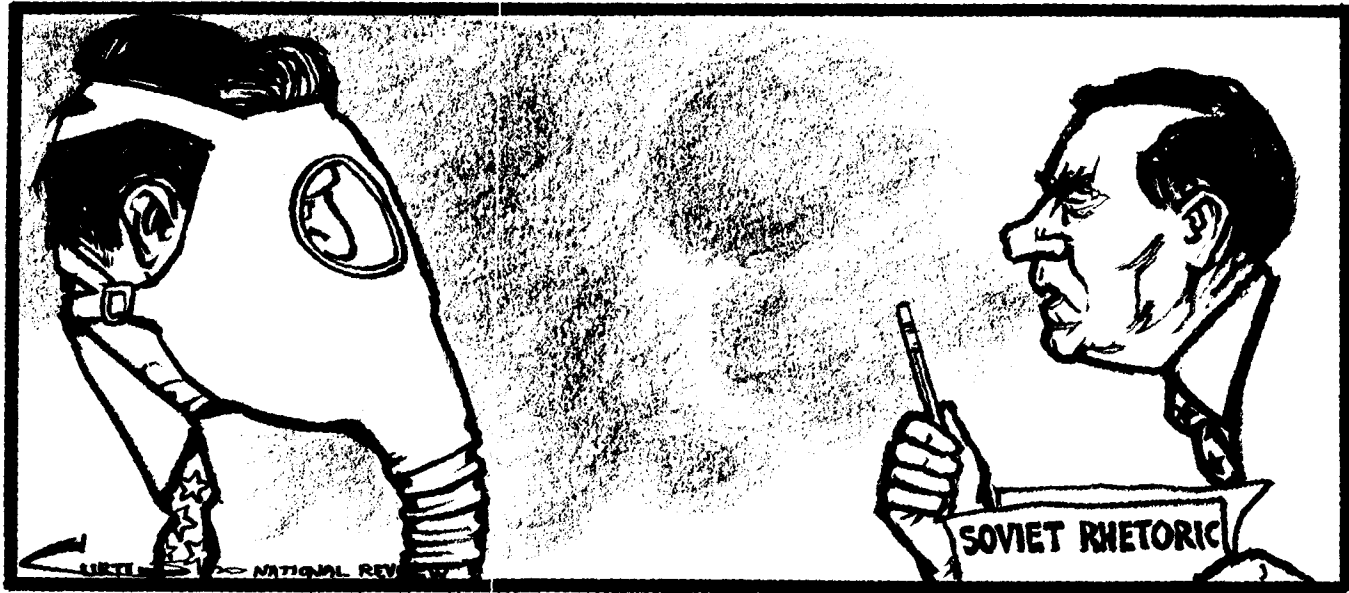
What England now has is a determined and organized fascist minority led by Tony Benn, plus a democratic majority that seems bewildered and that does not have an agreed-upon program to put England on its economic feet again.

Benn is a genuine threat, but England has found ways to deal with such figures, inside or—at times—outside, the democratic process.

The Giamatti Syndrome

Relations between Barry Goldwater and the New Right have been well this side of romantic. For some years the New Right has been almost contemptuous of Goldwater's contributions to the conservative movement. Then, a few months ago, he had a sharp public tiff with *Human Events*, culminating in a debate as to whether he had or had not canceled his subscription. Most recently, he has been angry at New Right opposition to Sandra O'Connor. Understandable. Regrettable.

It was a sad little family fight until Goldwater made public remarks—some of them in the *Congressional Record*—to the effect that the New Right, especially the Moral Majority, is “divisive,” threatens to “tear apart the very spirit of our representative system,” etc.



Nerve Gas

Presto! Suddenly Goldwater was on all the networks as he hadn't been since he denounced Richard Nixon. The *New York Times*, in which he ordinarily couldn't take out a classified ad, gave him front page play, up above the Pope's encyclical, and ran the text of his remarks for the record. Lesson: conservatives rate friendly media attention only when attacking other conservatives.

Nixon's Papers

Richard Nixon seems to be the most continually newsworthy person in the country, that is, everyone has something to say about Nixon. We keep you up to date on this, most recently from Duke University.

Nixon graduated from Duke Law School, and so Duke no doubt seemed to him a suitable location for the collection, which consists of 36 million items. Duke's president, Terry Sanford, jumped at the offer. Sanford is so pure a liberal that he ought to be on exhibition at the Smithsonian, but he also knows a scholarly treasure when he sees one. The Nixon papers represent a primary source for the history of a turbulent and fascinating period. What was the attitude of the White House in 1969 regarding Vietnam? What do the papers reveal about the decision to undertake "secret" bombing in Cambodia? What roles on a variety of issues did Kissinger and Haig play? Historians dealing with hundreds of such questions will depend in part on these papers.

The faculty vote against the papers tells us a great deal about faculty votes. Is it really imaginable that such a faculty would refuse, on moral grounds, the papers of Pope Alexander VI? The papers of Cesare Borgia?

Of course not. But Richard Nixon is in a different category. He exists in academic circles as the prime negative icon: the symbol that is most gratifying to use as a method of proving to other academics that you are a person of taste and virtue. Kicking the Nixon symbol around, in academic circles, provides a special and most pure pleasure. This is a hermetic world, self-enclosed, and makes little reference to things outside it. The word "Nixon" here has a life of its own. It refers to an actual person, but it also leads a more important life of its own, only loosely related to the actual individual. The tone of voice you use, the expression on your face when you speak the word "Nixon," amount to a password, a ticket of admission. "Nixon, ecccch." You're in! No one would seriously argue that Nixon's crimes were greater than Mao's—but Mao's papers would have met no faculty resistance. Mao is not a part of the symbolic game in these hermetic circles.

Of course, the Duke trustees voted 9 to 2 in executive committee to reject the faculty recommendation and accept the papers. The trustees function in the real world and must forego symbolic satisfactions.

The Lessons of Mrs. O'Connor

The United States Senate has voted unanimously to confirm Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. All senators were surely influenced by Justice O'Connor's poise, her intelligence, her obvious familiarity with the Constitution and the cases construing it. Some conservative senators, who had expressed reservations about the nomination, were also casting a vote of confidence in President Reagan's honesty and good judgment. Specifically, senators like Helms and East

of North Carolina, Grassley of Iowa, and Denton of Alabama said the President had convinced them that he had honored his 1980 campaign promise to appoint Justices who would "respect innocent human life"—the salient manifestation of such respect being a decision, should an appropriate case come before the Court, that the Constitution guarantees no right to abortion.

Mrs. O'Connor testified that the doctrine of *stare decisis*—whereby judges consider themselves bound by prior cases—has weaker force in constitutional law than in other areas, and that it should not protect cases that clearly misconstrue the Constitution. If the Supreme Court should have occasion to reconsider the matter of abortion, we hope that Justice O'Connor and her colleagues will take a closer look at their copies of the Constitution than Justice Blackmun and his colleagues did in 1973.

Justice O'Connor was presumably sincere in her feeling that it would be improper for her to comment on specific constitutional issues. But her refusal to share her views on such matters—a position which has precedent in the views of Justices Frankfurter and Harlan, among other—raises profound questions about how the Senate is to exercise its constitutional duty to give "advice and consent" to the appointment of federal judges. The best evidence of whether a prospective judge will "make law" or "interpret the Constitution" is his attitude toward past exercises of judicial review. Perhaps future nominees and senators, by agreeing in advance on the distinction between candid discussion of past cases and absolute promises to vote certain ways in future ones, can work out a solution that allows senators to obtain sufficient information on which to base an intelligent vote without giving rise to impropriety or to the appearance of impropriety.

Father, Son, and Holy Zeitgeist

As Brazil moves toward popular elections, the Catholic Church is creating turmoil with widespread support of not only leftist parties, but even revolutionary agitators. Some bishops have said they prefer socialism to capitalism and look on Cuba and Nicaragua as models for Brazilian development. One church-sponsored popular manual describes capitalism as "oppressive," in clearly Marxist categories, while Communism is described as a system in which "everyone shares. In this sense, we can say that the first Christians were Communists."

São Paulo's archbishop Paolo Evaristo Cardinal Arns contends that "there is no Catholic Left among us. Either we're Catholics or we're not." In light of all

Temptation

The Devil did it easily with Faust,
While chorus girls will weaken for a rock.
Some gals, to be spectacularly bloused,
Will silicone themselves right into hock.
Indeed, estates that reach the auction block
Are frequently temptation's bitter fruit,
For Lucifer is working 'round the clock
To tempt the greedy and irresolute.
Around the President the tempters mute
Their siren calls with "practicality."
If only he would loosen up the loot,
They say, Wall Street would boom and so would we.
But Mr. Reagan isn't leading cheers
For folks who ran the store for fifty years.

W. H. VON DREELE

the leftist acts and words of churchmen in Brazil, he is either denying the obvious or simply identifying the Church with the Left. Other Church leaders, like Eugenio Cardinal Sales of Rio de Janeiro, admit that the charges must be taken seriously. The Church's activities clearly violate the 1980 strictures of John Paul II against partisan activity and especially the fomenting of "class warfare."

In the past the Church has been accused by the Left of entangling itself in support for corrupt regimes. Apparently many Catholic leaders now feel that the way to avoid that danger is by entanglement with the Left—as if the regimes of Cuba and Nicaragua were not among the most corrupt on earth.

More fundamentally, the Church in many areas has shown a strong tendency to appease the Left, which it perceives as the rising power, by identifying the substance of Christianity with that of socialism—the idol of the twentieth century. Through this strategy it hopes to avoid persecution by eliminating any tension between itself and the socialist state. There can be no deeper corruption than that.

Behind the Green Curtain

In its September 18 issue, NATIONAL REVIEW published an article entitled "Dartmouth Restoration." Written by two Dartmouth students, it concerned a resurgence of conservative activity at Dartmouth and the birth of a student newspaper called *The Dartmouth Review*, which has attracted national attention as well as emerging replicas at Harvard, Brown, and Princeton. *The Dartmouth Review* is a feisty and sometimes sharp-clawed paper, but it also may be the liveliest campus journal in the nation.

This fall something extraordinary happened. After the paper published its first issue, the Dartmouth administration, through the college counsel, issued a ukase to all employees in the Dartmouth administrative branch: no one is to talk to *The Dartmouth Review*. This seems to apply to deans, admissions people, the comptroller, coaches, fund-raisers, secretaries, janitors. Though copies of the operative memorandum are not available, these employees now feel that they talk to *The Review* at the risk of their jobs. About which, a few observations:

1. The principle involved here goes far beyond the local situation. Journalistic responsibility in the form of the attributed quote does not actually guarantee honesty, but it makes for a large step toward it. To put the matter at the margin, if a journalist cannot attribute quotations, he can, if unprincipled, simply make them up—and reply, if challenged, that he cannot, obviously, reveal sources. Intellectual cleanliness in journalism requires that where there is no need for secrecy, things should simply be open and checkable.

2. Where the local situation is concerned, the administration of Dartmouth has put itself on the wrong side of the free flow of information. Very few journalists in this country will be sympathetic toward this move.

3. It won't work. Adult Americans cannot be told whom they can talk to. Despite the attempt at a kind of punitive censorship, the thing will leak like a sieve. In every bureaucracy, anyone who has something to gain knows how to use the media, and this law holds from the White House to the college mini-bureaucracy.

As Dwight Eisenhower once remarked about a certain senator, in "his case there is no final answer to the question, How stupid can you get?"

Dartmouth now has a new president, David McLoughlin. He has been in office for only a couple of months. Reports from Hanover suggest that he himself did not originate this clumsy move, but that he was handed a *fait accompli* by his subordinates. A pity. Stay tuned.

Albert Speer, RIP

The Nazi advent ended Albert Speer's frustrating years as an architect with much talent and no clients. His subsequent success as chief caterer to *Der Führer's* zest for monumental designs led to an appointment in 1943 as Germany's supreme director of war production. Speer lost standing in Hitler's inner circle before the end. His comprehension, forthrightness, and disdain of self-exculpation impressed victor interrogators following the surrender. The Nuremberg tribunal, split on whether to have Speer hanged, settled on twenty years' imprisonment instead—a long time for ponder-

ing and striving to stave off deterioration. After serving his time, Speer produced three books notable for their dissections of the baleful regime in whose guilt he shared—an intellectual achievement to be sure, and perhaps in a measure a moral one as well.

Notes & Asides

Memo to: Our readers

From: WFB

Beginning in this issue we will publish, alongside my own "On the Right" columns, three columns by John Roche. These, for the most part directed at the cold war and U.S. strategy, are quite the best things being done on the subject. They are intended to complement the column by Brian Crozier and our editorials on foreign policy. John Roche is, of course, the former assistant to Lyndon Johnson, former Dean of Brandeis, former professor at Haverford, currently with the Fletcher School in Boston. He is a former president of the Americans for Democratic Action, concerning which more in due course.

■ To the Editor

The *New York Times*

Sir:

Mr. Anthony Lewis writes ("God and Jonah at Yale," September 10) that in reproaching Yale's president, Mr. Giamatti, for his tirade against the Moral Majority I managed to get things exactly wrong. "Invoking the Bible to argue that there was nothing wrong with anger, he [Buckley] quoted from the Book of Jonah: 'And God said to Jonah, "Doest thou well to be angry?" And he said, "I do well to be angry, even unto death."'"

Mr. Lewis is so benevolent as to pass along general advice for my benefit, and others'. "But it is a great mistake to quote the Bible unless you have at least a dim sense of what it is about. Mr. Buckley evidently did not understand what happens to be one of its most beautiful and moving passages. He got the message of the Book of Jonah exactly backwards."

Mr. Giamatti had said of the Moral Majority that they were "angry at change . . ." I suggested that anger can, in certain circumstances, be salubrious. On this point the Bible is in general quite clear. But C. S. Lewis, among other things a Bible scholar, is most eloquent among modern men on the subject. He wrote, "The higher the stakes, the greater the tempta-

tion to lose your temper . . . We must not overvalue the relative harmlessness of the little, sensual, frivolous people. They are not above, but below, some temptations . . . If they had perceived, and felt as a man should feel, the diabolical wickedness which [some men are] committing and then forgiven them, they would have been saints. But not to perceive it at all—not even to be tempted to resentment—to accept it as the most ordinary thing in the world—argues a terrifying insensibility. Thus the absence of anger, especially that sort of anger which we call *indignation*, can, in my opinion, be a most alarming symptom.”

Nineveh was spared because the whole of the population dressed in sackcloth and ashes, and repented.

The anger of Jonah was an anger that outlived the Lord’s because Jonah despaired of the human condition.

The Moral Majority does not face the special difficulty of Jonah, at least not until a society that regularly condones crime, blasphemy, boat people, and erotomania should comport themselves as the penitent residents of Nineveh did. If at Yale any of the professors are wearing sackcloth and ashes, that news has reached neither the Moral Majority, nor the *New York Times*. If at the editorial headquarters of *Screw* magazine or the management offices of Plato’s Retreat they are wearing sackcloth and ashes, the immediate danger would be of suffocation. As for Mr. Lewis’s suggestion that the Moral Majority’s intolerance threatens, it is perhaps relevant to note that the organization has never, that I know of, stopped the freedom of speech. Meanwhile at Yale, Professor Shockley was

not permitted to speak, nor was the chief of staff of the armed services. The Moral Majority will perhaps have reason to cease to be angry with the prevalent deterioration in standards at about the same time that Mr. Lewis counsels us not to be angry with white South Africans.

Finally, on the suggestion that a knowledge of the Bible is an apanage of Mr. Lewis and others of his political persuasion, and that I have not even a “dim” sense of the meaning of Jonah, two quotations:

“. . . in the end, I did go unto Nineveh, and when nothing really happened (nothing did), and when the ADA worms and others had eaten up the cucumber vine, and God had asked: ‘Do you well to be angry?’ I answered and still answer: ‘I do well to be angry, even unto death.’”

And again: “And at its end occurs one of the most marvelous colloquies that have engrossed man’s mind. God asks Jonah, who, most unwillingly, under compulsion, has performed by acts the whole duty of the man, Jonah: ‘Do you well to be angry?’ Jonah answers: ‘I do well to be angry.’ It is well to mention this because almost no question and answer of record is so worth a lifetime of reflection.”

The quotes are from pages 61 and 186 of *Odyssey of a Friend*, by Whittaker Chambers, New York, Putnam’s, 1970.

Mr. Chambers’s book is subtitled: “Letters to William F. Buckley Jr., 1954-1961.”

Yours faithfully,
W. F. Buckley Jr.



“Harvey used to call himself a conservative until they began to abound. Now, he calls himself a neo-liberal.”

■ Dear Bill:

Someone has drawn my attention to the fact that my name now appears on the *NR* letterhead in a place which indicates that my name starts with H. It does not. It starts with V. I hope all your other problems are equally world shaking.

Cordially,
Ernest [van den Haag]

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

My name is Kristin K. Cartter and I am going to build an ecumenical church. I would like you to be on the Board of Directors.

This church is going to be beautiful—a place where one’s heart and soul can soar.

Your ideas on fund-raising would be appreciated.

Thank you for your time.

Kristin K. Cartter
Madison, Wis.

Dear Miss Cartter: Voltaire’s advice to the young man who asked how to go about founding a religion is still relevant: “Go get yourself crucified, and then rise on the third day.” Cordially,
—WFB

The Current WISDOM



'Tax Cuts'

TOM BETHELL

SAD TO SAY, the *New York Times* Editorially called for increasing our tax burden even before President Reagan's economic program went into effect. "Is there any way to avoid balancing the budget on the backs of the poor?" the paper inquired on September 20. And replied: "Yes: Higher taxes. No one has as yet gotten a penny of the new income-tax cuts. If they were just phased in more slowly, taxpayers would still see some benefit."

As news accounts in the past few weeks have made abundantly clear, most journalists still don't understand the most important part of supply-side economics. At the heart of the problem lies the phrase "tax cuts." It seems harmless enough. But it is not "tax cuts" that we shall experience on October 1. It is tax-rate reductions—very small reductions, too, at the outset. Rate reductions don't begin in earnest until next July 1.

The trouble with the phrase "tax cuts" is that it blurs the distinction between tax rates and tax revenues. These two are rarely proportional. If you look back over the history of tax-rate reductions in the U.S., you will find that they are almost always followed by revenue increases. In 1979 Margaret Thatcher cut the top income-tax rate from 83 to 60 per cent in England. Revenues increased in 1980. Likewise, the Reagan tax-rate reductions are certain to be followed by revenue increases in the years ahead.

A tax rate should be thought of as a price—the price of living in the United States. Actually, that is not quite right either. Tax rates are the price of *working* in the United States. (On the other hand, people are actually *paid* to live here provided they don't earn more than a certain amount of money. But if you are single and earn \$41,500 you must give 50 cents of each additional dollar to the Federal Government, and

additional cents to most states, and more still is withheld from earnings because you are thought too improvident to save for your own retirement.)

Think of tax rate as a price, then. If you run a country store, and you have goods which you cannot sell, resulting in a slow trickle of cash coming into the till, do you raise prices, or do you lower them? Of course you must lower them. In that event, it is most likely that the revenue coming into your till will increase. We have, likewise, unsold government today, usually referred to as budget deficits. It is unsold because it is priced too high.

Few commentators have grasped this point. George Will, excellent columnist though he is, thinks that Americans are "undertaxed," and that "the task is to rebuild the government's revenue base," which he thinks is eroding as a result of "cuts in corporate and personal income taxes." (Tax *rates*, he means.) But, properly understood, it is our high and ever-escalating income-tax rates that are eroding the tax base; reducing them will therefore restore the base.

EACH January, the Office of Management and Budget estimates revenue and spending figures for the years ahead. In January 1979—the middle of Carter's term—OMB estimated a \$26 billion surplus in the '82 budget. Now there may be a \$60 billion deficit next year. In the interim we have had continuous *marginal tax-rate increases* thanks to inflation pushing us all higher up the income-tax schedule. That is, tax-rate increases and widening budget deficits came hand in hand. The price of government was increased, and less of it was sold as a result.

Talk of "tax cuts" leads directly to the misperception that the purpose of the Reagan program is simply to transfer a certain aggregate quantity of dol-

lars (\$750 billion over the next five years) from public to private hands. Here it will be spent more wisely, and that is what supply-side economics is all about.

Members of the Administration have themselves promulgated this misleading \$750-billion figure. According to a senior Treasury official, "the revenue loss was estimated by subtracting the new (low-tax-rate) revenues from the old (pre-tax-change) revenues, *making the assumption that the same growth path would result from both sets of tax rates!* In fact, the higher tax-rates would have produced a lower growth path. All supply-side effects were ignored in estimating the \$750 billion revenue loss."

The source said that those who pushed for this odd outcome were David Stockman and Norman Ture, staunch supply-siders both. But then again, one effect of such early-bird pessimism will be to ensure that future outcomes will be more cheerful than the forecast—a reversal of recent econometric trends. But misunderstandings have resulted, as Thomas Edsall of the *Washington Post* showed when he recently wrote that "this major shift of money from the Federal Government to the private sector is supposed to result in a major revival of business activity and savings."

The model here is wrong. It envisions "taxes" as a horizontal net which ineluctably captures a given percentage of economic transactions, all of which are foreordained to occur whether or not the net is in place. Instead, tax *rates* should be thought of as a vertical net stretched between two potential economic transactors, who may or may not make an exchange depending on the height of the net. If it's too high, the seller won't jump over the net to shake hands with the buyer. In which case the government "nets" nothing.

Right now the tax net in the U.S. is far too high, and Congress has agreed that it shall be slowly lowered in the years ahead. More people will jump over it and the government will garner more revenues. So if you hear people talking about "the \$750 billion tax cut," take no notice. □

Mr. Bethell, who writes a regular column for The American Spectator, is also an editor of Harper's.

The Irish Mess

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

MY "REFLECTIONS on Violence" in this space [June 12] seem to have aroused the ire of some readers. One of them thought my echoing of Margaret Thatcher's "a crime is a crime is a crime" in the case of the death of Bobby Sands meant that my Union Jack was showing. "Under the guise of condemning terrorism," said the reader, Mr. Joseph J. Hester, "[Mr. Crozier] makes a plea for the legitimacy of British control of the six northeastern counties of Ireland." [See "Letters," page 1223.] Mr. Hester's charge is perhaps worth some space in this column, because it is relevant to its permanent concerns.

In fact and in law, Northern Ireland is politically part of the United Kingdom, even though it is geographically part of the island of Ireland. When General Sir Harry Tuzo arrived in Ulster to command the British forces there, a formidable local Protestant lady buttonholed him at a reception and said, rather fiercely: "You English must understand that we Northern Irish want to be British." The Ulster problem in a nutshell.

What Is Terrorism?

Nobody with an objective sense of justice could possibly be happy at the brutalities the English have inflicted on the Irish through history. The present mess is the delayed result of the plantation of Scots and English into what is now Northern Ireland. History is full of such events, and the Irish Catholics of the north at least fared better than the Red Indians of North America, or the Aborigines of Australia.

Such parallels do not take us very far, diverting though they may be. More relevant is the territorial division of 1921. If the British had had the sense to leave the overwhelmingly Catholic counties of Armagh, Fermanagh, and Tyrone out of Northern Ireland, the Catholic minority in the north would be no more than a manageable 10 per cent, instead of a politically explosive 35 per cent. The Constitution of Northern Ireland was quite deliberately framed to keep the Catholics permanently out

of power. But in the long run, you can't with impunity deny political rights to more than a third of a population. We are still paying the cost of injustice.

Some of my correspondents fall into the familiar semantic trap of applying the label "terrorism" to the occasional excessive use of force by the British Army, as well as to the constant and deliberate use of intimidatory brutality and murder by the IRA and its splinter groups. Rubber bullets are not intended to be lethal although they may occasionally cause death. Bullets are, and are intended to be, lethal. The IRA's way with "offenders" is to drill them through the kneecaps without anaesthetic. The British way is to imprison very real offenders in a prison called The Maze, which those who have visited it describe as the most comfortable in all of Western Europe.

If the British withdrew, as some of my correspondents wish, there would be a nasty and complicated bloodbath, with the Protestants settling accounts with the Catholics, and the small army of the Republic of Ireland caught between the emotional impulse to help their co-religionists in the north and the political imperative of wiping out the IRA. Surely one Lebanon is enough for now. And one El Salvador will do.

In terms of "the protracted conflict," the Ulster situation has long become a peripheral war in the wider World War III perceived by Burnham and Solzhenitsyn. The Regular IRA is virtually indistinguishable from the Irish Communist Party; the Provisionals, basically a gang of semi-fascist thugs, are heavily penetrated by the Trot variety of Marxists and have attracted Soviet, Libyan, and Palestinian support.

Is there, then, no way out? Initially, the British treated the troubles, when they began in 1968, as a civil disturbance, to be handled by the police. The decision to send in the troops (who had to be brought over from Germany) was taken quite soon, when it became clear that the police could not cope, and amounted to tacit recognition that there was a war on. But except for brief periods, successive British governments have lacked the nerve to conduct operations

accordingly. The Army has been used as a supplementary police force, not as an extension of politics by other means.

Internment without trial in 1971 yielded rapid military benefits but was abandoned in the face of the inevitable public outrage. Rough interrogation methods were condemned by the Compton Inquiry in 1971 and sanctioned by the Parker Inquiry in 1972. These too yielded rapid, indeed spectacular results: in a few weeks, 85 incidents were solved and seven hundred IRA members were identified. But these methods (sensory deprivation, sleeplessness, and so forth) were also dropped.

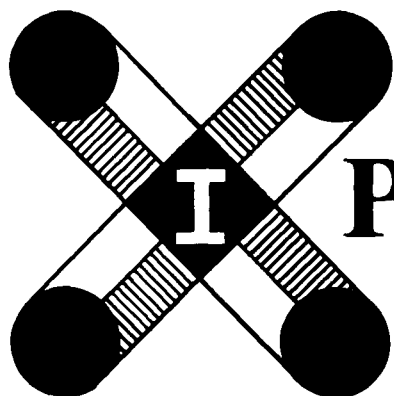
No Stomach for It

"Bloody Friday," on July 21, 1972, was politically useful in that public revulsion against the terrorists (who had set off twenty bombs in Belfast, with nine civilian deaths and 130 injured) made it politically possible to build up the Army and clear the "no-go areas" in Belfast and Londonderry. Operation Motorman, as it was called, proved dead easy, and the IRA simply fled across the border into the Republic.

In my view, the British government of the day (Edward Heath's, as it happens, but any other government would have been the same) could have ended the whole thing there and then, by chasing the terrorists in hot pursuit and rounding them all up. True, it would have had to defy outraged liberal opinion and the strident talking-shop in Manhattan. British governments lack the stomach for such action. So the war is still with us, nine years on.

Experience shows that terrorists and guerrillas can be defeated by resolute military action, which in turn makes a political or constitutional solution possible. (The one without the other is useless.) In an ideal world, the boundaries of Ireland would be re-drawn, with a sensible transfer of Catholics to the South. The two Irelands could then confederate, with an independent north heavily subsidized by Great Britain (and perhaps by the EEC). It could happen. It will take time.

There, I have said it. □



The Portland Declaration*

ERIK von KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN:

THE FREE WORLD today is menaced not only by hostile armies, but by sets of ideas which either reduce man to a purely materialistic animal, or present a philosophy of doubt if not despair. The effect of these ideologies, if they are not opposed, must be to crush us, or at least to undermine our will to resist.

The Free World has to rise to this challenge and declare a firm, coherent, and consistent belief in its values, values well grounded and anchored in a great tradition, for which we ought to be ready to make sacrifices, to fight, even, if necessary, to die. Such a belief might be called a philosophy, a world view, or indeed an ideology; whatever we call it, we cannot hope to survive without it.

Webster's Second International calls "ideology" (under 4b) a "systematic scheme of ideas about life." Outstanding thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic have insisted that man, for better or worse, is an ideological creature distinguishing himself from the beasts by having, besides reason and religion, a coherent and logical view interpreting his personal and social existence.

Yet since, for many, this comprehensive view tends to be incoherent and indistinct, traditional thinkers in the Free World have a duty to give it a more precise profile, form, and color. Carefully, though: what can be said critically about utopias can also be stated about ideologies: as concrete visions set in the future, they can be thoroughly unrealistic, achievable only by unreasonable sacrifices out of all proportion to their value to mankind. Or they can be legitimate goals.

Finally, we must have before us a guiding vision of what our state and society could be like, to prevent us from be-

coming victims of false gods. The answer to false gods is not godlessness but the Living God. Hence our ideology must be based on the Living God, but it should appeal also to men of good will who, while not believers, derive their concepts of a well-ordered life, whether they realize it or not, ultimately from the same sources we do.

The 26 Points

1. It is self-evident that this immensely complex universe cannot possibly be the result of billions of coincidences or chances—that it must have a creator-designer, a "Supreme Architect." He Who is the eternally existing Master of this world has complete power over the universe, its laws, and its material existence. He is the Lord over life and death, the Father of Creation.

2. Of all His creatures—so far as we can reasonably know—only Man has an understanding, an appreciation, an ability to evaluate everything he perceives—morally, aesthetically, materially. Man can put everything "to use," since everything to him is meaningful in some way, even suffering. A lion, to cite an instance, is to him aesthetically significant. Its fur is commercially exploitable. Tamed, it accepts the superiority of Man and can become his companion; as game it might bring excitement or fear. A rock, a painting, a toothache, a sunset, a piece of coal, a poisonous plant—nothing is devoid of meaning to Man, to whom perhaps not only the Earth, but also the universe has been given in stewardship—as a *terrible responsibility*. Therefore Man, a fallen, great but imperfect, creature, must also know his limits. The Tower of Babel should be our warning.

3. For these reasons it is not surprising that Man, created originally in the Image of God, is even after the Fall a creature unlike the beasts—a transcendent creature called upon to rise above himself. Man is more than "just man." His per-

*This essay came out of a private conference sponsored by the Western Humanities Institute in Portland, Oregon last May. It incorporates a number of ideas contributed by participants in the discussion and was compiled for NR by Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, who calls it fittingly "The Portland Declaration."

sonal drama cannot be terminated by his physical death, and the pagan existentialist's claim—that life on this globe is *in itself* "absurd"—is perfectly justified. He lives in a world which is God's, Man's, and Satan's, and where, within the limits of time and space, justice as well as personal fulfillment can, at best, be fragmentary. Man's existence is basically tied to God, normally by the binding forces of a religion. He addresses himself to God most frequently by prayer; he finds himself bound by moral commands based on God's word, made known to him by Revelation. Reason, intuition, and grace are the avenues to an invisible but traceable, almighty and omniscient, God, whose humble partners we are in the drama on Earth. And here let us keep in mind: *If there is no personal God everything is permissible, and if God exists, everything is possible.*

4. The word person comes from the Etruscan *phersú*, which meant the mask worn by an actor and therefore the distinct role he had to play on the stage—signifying also our uniqueness and our untransferable destiny. Everybody is indispensable, everybody is irreplaceable, however insignificant he or she may be. This uniqueness implies inequality as well as diversity. Our Holy Scriptures nowhere speak about equality since we are different in every respect—physically, intellectually, morally, spiritually. We are unequal also in the eyes of God, Who values the saint more than the inveterate sinner, Abel more than Cain. Our talents differentiate us as much as our efforts, our sex as much as our age group, our wisdom as much as our experience. We all equally share qualities but not in an equal amount. Adverbial equality is not factual equality.

5. We share with the beasts a craving for sameness and a gregariousness which makes us desire the company of people of our own age, sex, race, creed, political conviction, class, and taste. But it is exclusively human to have a thirst for diversity, i.e., to be happy in the company of those who are different from us in every respect, as well as to travel, to enjoy other foods, hear other tunes, see other plants, beasts, and landscapes. *The delight in the variations of creation distinguishes man from beast as much as religion or reason.*

6. It is the low drive for sameness and the hatred of otherness that characterizes all forms of leftism, which inevitably are totalitarian because, defying the divine diversity of the universe, these ideologies want to convert us by force to sameness—sameness being the brother of equality. The leftist vision enjoins uniformity: the nation with one leader, one party, one race, one language, one class, one type of school, one law, one custom, one level of income, and so forth. Since nature provides diversity, this deadening sameness can be achieved only by brute force, by leveling, enforced assimilation, exile, genocide. All forms of totalitarianism, all leftist ideologies, reaching their culmination in the French, Russian, and German Revolutions, have gone that way—with the aid of guillotine, gallows, gas chambers, and Gulag.

7. "*Right is right and Left is wrong.*" On the Right are the person, freedom, spirituality, organically grown institutions. On the Left are the double-headed Leviathan of State and Society, conformity, uniformity, equality-in-slavery. In all

languages—the Germanic, Romance, Slavic, and Altaic tongues; Sanskrit, Hebrew, and Japanese—right has a positive, left a profoundly negative implication. The Bible does not differ in this respect and transcends even anatomic facts; Ecclesiastes 10:2 says succinctly:

The heart of the wise man beats on his right side, the heart of the fool on his left.

Thus we have every right, in the light of language and tradition, to stick to our semantics.

8. God has created Man as man and woman, and scientific research in the last thirty years has revealed more psychological and biological differences than had been assumed in earlier times. Men and women are equally important, they are spiritually equal, they have mental characteristics which are never exclusively male or female, but they represent, in the light of statistics, existentially different forms of man-

A year or so ago, writing in the Wall Street Journal, Irving Kristol wrote that the conservative movement lacked, really, a spinal column of thought. The point was divisive: some said, as they have over the years, that conservatism is primarily an attitude, an approach. Others disagreed, some even insisting that the word "ideology" be rebaptized: or, if you like, merely baptized. An ideology, insisted Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, is a body of thought, and its use, or abuse, by Marx, or by fanatics, oughtn't to deprive us of it.

During the same period other conservatives were agitating on the meaning and implications of modernism to conservative thought. If—as most agree—experience does and should influence thought, how is such experience assimilated by conservatism? Are some positions generally identified as "conservative" only presumptively that? Do they, indeed, deter others from finding the faith, or sticking to it?

And there has been more than usual commotion on the subject of government. How does one define the virtuous state. What are its special powers? Can one—must one?—distinguish between a society that is legitimate, and one that is not? For instance, was the society ruled by George III in the colonies "just" in the sense that it deserved the loyalty of its subjects?

The editors have judged that the accumulation of such thoughts, reservations, intimations, aperçus, was such as to warrant a substantial ventilation. Accordingly we begin: by publishing a substantial manifesto by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, which he presents as, well—as the ideology of conservatism. Our notion is to publish six major contributions to the general discussion outlined in these paragraphs over a period of about three or four months. In the intervening issues we will publish thoughts and commentary by readers, and actors, in this important investigation.

—WFB

kind with different though sometimes overlapping tasks. The traditional role of women in our civilization is basically the result of experience and accumulated wisdom; its accent is on love, affection, life-giving, child-rearing, all immensely important, priceless, and irreplaceable activities. But the ex-

The family is the living cell of every society. It is based on affection, loyalty, and a specific type of friendship rather than on erotic infatuation or mere sexuality

traordinary careers and achievements of individual women—rulers, writers, artists, doctors, lawyers, business executives, civic organizers—indicate that, besides their nature-given roles, they should not be excluded from other careers, although certain activities are in contradiction to their nature and detrimental to their dignity—those of the coal miner, shock-trooper, or hangman, for instance.

9. The family is the living cell of every society. It is based on affection, loyalty, and a specific type of *friendship* rather than on erotic infatuation or mere sexuality. It is ideally an association of two sexes and three generations: unity and variety are its keynotes. Sex, eros, procreation, education, character formation, and mutual aid are its basic tasks. It offers fulfillment to the patriarchal and matriarchal drives. State and Society must avoid all policies harmful to the family's integrity and autonomy.

10. Society has a composite character and must beware of two dangers: of becoming totally one with the State (as happened in the rather oppressive Greek *polis*); and of developing a conformist herd spirit destroying originality, hampering the development of the person, and thus creating a totalitarianism of its own through horizontal rather than vertical pressures. A healthy society is not a monolith but a natural organism of many layers with different functions, all necessary and indispensable, needing, respecting, and also loving each other, each with its own pride, its own characteristics, its own functions. This, however, does not imply a closed, but an open society, without a caste system and with free movement from layer to layer. Talent, achievement, dedication, personal discipline, character must be honored. Envy, group arrogance, resentment, lack of charity, are cancers in the body of a society, but the formation of elites in a constant process of crystallization (and elimination) ought to be encouraged. There is no healthy society without leadership, without guiding lights. And if these are of a negative order, the whole society will decay and collapse. Neither caste societies nor "classless" societies have been productive for any length of time.

It should, however, be remarked that Society no more than the State should ever become an absolute. Socialism, which inevitably results in statism, tries to make society absolute also. Nor should Society (in the sense of "human environment") be made into an alibi for moral faults. The fairy tale that man, by nature, is good and that only Society can make him wicked must be rejected. We are called upon to make our stand against *all* collectivist forces and powers, be they political, social, or economic.

11. The State is partly the result of Man's frailties and incompleteness. It cannot be dispensed with, but neither

should it be deified and made an end in itself. Its job is to protect all persons against an overpowerful Society, against evil individuals or groups, and against the foreign enemy. It represents the bone structure of the nation; its legitimacy rests primarily on *authority* and, owing to the fallen nature of man, also on *power*. Within its domain there should be as much freedom as feasible, as much force as necessary.

All free nations are by definition "authoritarian" in their political as well as in their social and even in their family life. We obey out of love, out of respect (for the greater knowledge and wisdom of those to whom we owe obedience), or because we realize that obedience is in the interest of the Common Good, which, needless to say, includes our own interest. These motivations are not mutually exclusive. For the ruler, or for our parents, we might have love and respect; so also for our teachers. The manager might be respected rather than loved. To obey the traffic policeman "makes sense." There is only one alternative to authority (*which is lodged in us and is therefore an interior power*), and that is fear, which comes from the *outside*. We then *conform* merely because we fear brute force. Fear is the lifeblood of tyranny. A Society which lives by fear alone is an unnatural Society in an unnatural State. Yet, we must never forget that, owing to Man's fallen nature, the State has the right, even in a free country, to use fear and punishment—not as daily fare, but as a medicine, as a necessary sanction.

12. The State is always in danger of morbidly multiplying its cells, of assuming functions which properly belong to the person, the family, or to Society. (Society also can occasionally encroach on personal rights.) Whatever a person can do, he or she should do; the next step would be to turn to the family and then to the community. Only finally should the State be asked for aid—and the central power of the State asked only as the very last resort. This is called the "principle of subsidiarity."

Therefore, it should also be understood that the ideal State is a federated State composed of political units with far-reaching autonomy ("states" in the American sense, *Länder* in German, *régions* or *provinces* in French). Regions, as well as persons, have a unique value; regions are often a more organic unit with a sharper profile than the Big State.

The gigantic, centralizing Provider State, wrongly called the Welfare State, takes over all functions of life with its inherent drive toward an increasing and swollen bureaucracy, and turns (in the words of Alexis de Tocqueville) "men into timid animals" bereft of all initiative, thus weakening the fiber of every nation to a deadly degree. A great catastrophe—history has them always in store for us—then leaves the people unable to rise again.

13. Good government rests on a variety of premises. Need-

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less to say, the formula of Campbell-Bannerman—"Self-government is better than good government"—is senseless. Is medical self-treatment better than the services of a good doctor? The formula "the first right of a nation is to be governed well" comes much nearer to the truth. What we need is minimal government of the highest quality instead of what we now have in the Western world, maximal government of the lowest order.

This, however, means that the administration must consist of people of the highest possible quality. Administrative careers must be open to everybody who, as in the ancient Mandarin system, passes an entrance examination giving evidence, primarily, of wide knowledge and culture. During a probationary period the new administrator must prove that his theoretical knowledge can also be used practically, and that in applying the laws he will not permit (as a petty person would) the letter of the law to kill the spirit. Only when he can show that he *understands* his task as a public servant, that he has the common good as much in mind as the needs and problems of individual persons, should he be incorporated permanently into the hierarchy of the administration. China flourished for thousands of years (Taiwan still does) under the socially non-discriminatory, non-hereditary, but truly elitist mandarin. Prior to 1918 the European nations benefited from a similar system, which in many countries excluded public servants from all political activities (including voting). He who served the Common Good had no business to participate in party strife.

14. There is no escape from "bureaucracy" or "technocracy." In a scientific and technological age one cannot dispense with a skilled administration, which ought to have prestige and a level of remuneration minimizing the temptation of bribery. A body consisting of experts should have a positive share in the government. The precept of Plato still stands: Unless the kings are philosophers and the philosophers become kings, there is no hope for a well-governed nation.

A mixed government consisting of a "head," a group of

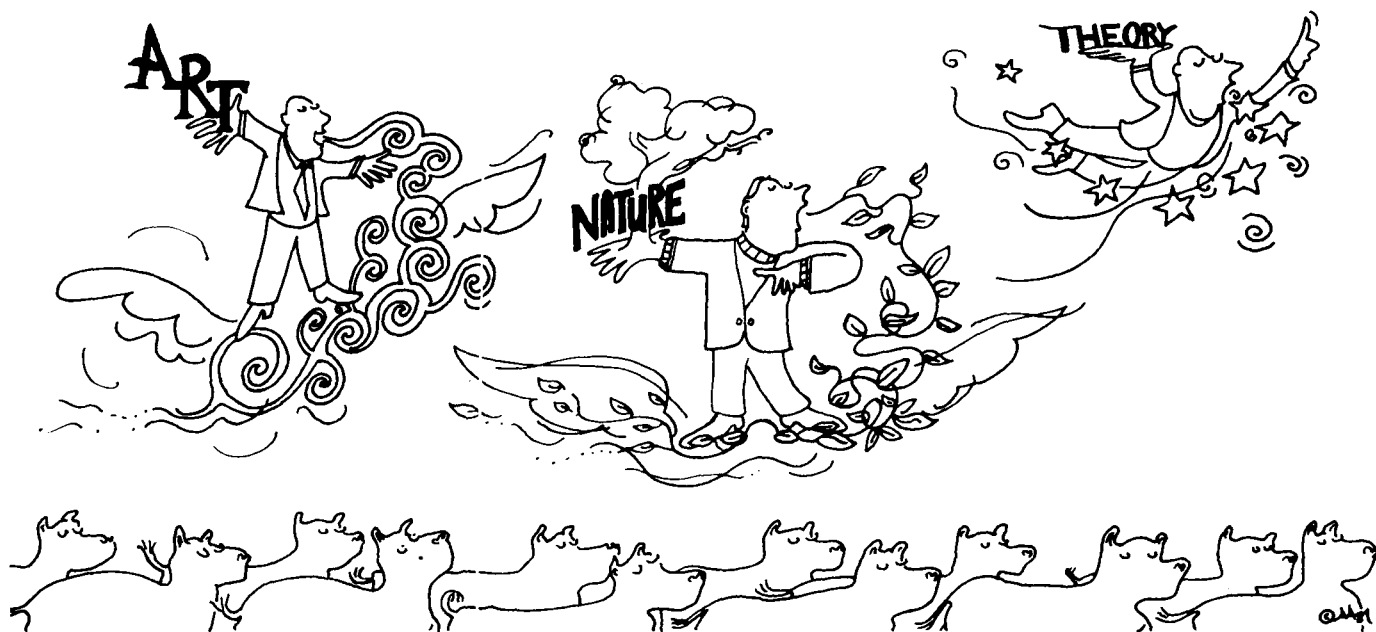
men of knowledge and experience, and the representatives of the people, is the standard, traditional political arrangement in the West. We would add a supreme court judging debatable issues not only from a purely constitutional point of view but also from a moral one.

The representatives of the people are not supposed to form a policy-making body. This is the task of the administrative government. Parliaments or legislatures should be merely *legislative assemblies* producing laws which, however, need a higher confirmation. The parliaments, moreover, ought not to be based on party lines (though factions will inevitably be formed), but should honestly strive to represent the country as a whole, not only by regions but also by layers, interest groups, occupations, and professions, so that the government can know what the various segments of the population desire (or reject). Majorities and minorities can both be right or wrong. Parents would be stupid to lord it over their adolescent offspring and never listen to them; they would be equally stupid to defer to the wishes of three or four children because, in the family, they form a majority. A sound and frank dialogue between ruler and ruled is, similarly, of the utmost necessity.

Whether the head of state is identical with the head of the government, whether he is hereditary or selected, are matters of tradition and historical development. So are his (or her) prerogatives. He or she should, however, be properly trained and stand above all factions. The supreme court should be strictly nonpolitical and perhaps be elected by scholarly bodies (law schools, etc.).

The amateurism which has prevailed in the past can no longer be borne. We have to find new formulas combining first-rate expertise with personal freedom. There must be areas free from government intervention, personal "kingdoms" designed and protected for the development and fulfillment of the personality; the State must have boundaries which it will not be permitted to transgress.

15. Freedom is intrinsically connected with private property, and whatever goods or means of production exist must



Nothing is more dangerous to freedom, as well as to religion and to the health of the State, than the identification of Church and State. The free Church in a free State is the ideal

belong either to private persons (individually or in groups), or to political bodies (municipalities, "states," central governments). *There is no third way.* To own property is Man's God-given right and Man's only chance to be materially free and to defend himself. Man is, by nature, an acquisitive and saving animal. Acquisition is the main motivation for hard work. Therefore an economy based on private enterprise and personal initiative will produce infinitely more than an economy based on state capitalism, in which managers and workers are bureaucrats and civil servants. This is not a theory but a fact we know empirically. Socialism, which can be explained to anybody in ten minutes, is a "clear but false idea"; the free-enterprise system, resembling an ocean of personal ambitions, is of enormous complexity—but it does deliver the goods. State capitalism and socialism have a deadening effect on the individual character as well as on the strength of the family, because they provide a Leviathan-like substitute for all families. They produce not a pluralist society, but sameness and *equality in poverty* . . . with a tiny, brutal power elite at the top. State capitalism is the result of a "constrictionist" outlook by power-hungry intellectuals, a system especially hostile to workers and farmers.

16. The primary educator is the family, but it can *delegate* the education of children to private or public schools, established by the community or the State, which then act as educational brokers. It is obviously not the task of the school to take physical care of children merely because the parents are absent from their homes, nor should the school provide too much in the way of activities which are not essentially of an educational nature. It would be a grave error to let the school take the place of the home.

The elementary schools should impart a solid basic education, the secondary schools (in the United States, high school and college) a comprehensive range of knowledge and not just a few subjects assorted according to the whim of the pupil. Graduate schools should be of the highest quality, and ought also to foster research. Discipline, devotion, and diligence should be the characteristics of any school, and students who cannot or will not keep up should be removed. It makes no sense to drag bored, unwilling, lazy mobs through the schools at the expense of the public. The years of mandatory schooling should be shortened, and subsequent schooling assume an intellectually (but not socially) "elitist" character. Parents who do not make use of the public schools should not be taxed to pay for them.

17. Nothing is more dangerous to freedom, as well as to religion and to the health of the State, than the identification of Church and State. The free Church in a free State

is the ideal; caesaropapism or hierocracy (wrongly called theocracy) has always been an unmitigated evil. Even in societies where religious pluralism exists, such an order benefits one faith while treating others unjustly. However, the separation of State and religion should not preclude cooperation between them. Such cooperation has been practiced for generations in a number of countries to the benefit of all concerned.

The reasons are manifold. First of all, religion, as we have pointed out, is one of the distinguishing marks of Man. Secondly, there are no ethics truly binding in conscience other than those emanating from Revelation. All our ethics in the monotheistic world are derived from religious precepts, and the full recognition of the Natural Law is possible to most of us only in the light of religion. Hence there is a real and undeniable connection between the strength of religion and morality, and this in spite of the fact that in our Western Civilization nonbelievers (subconsciously following ethical commands laid down by the great religions) have often individually shown greater adherence to our ethics than the faithful. Yet, statistically, we know that the increase in crime is only too often the result of the evaporation of religious faith—as is evidenced in the Western world today.

However, religion (except in the case of a small, tenacious sect) cannot survive detached from the world and the marketplace. The modern state has invaded not only the marketplace but also social life to such a degree that clear lines of demarcation between State and Church can no longer be drawn. It seems necessary for the churches and the State to cooperate in certain fields. Even in countries with total separation of religion and State there are army and prison chaplains, and respect for, and public acknowledgment of, religious feasts—as for the Sabbath, a day of rest and worship based on Scripture. The various faiths also should be encouraged to cooperate among themselves and to emphasize what unites them: a common spiritual and ethical foundation which also, in turn, should inspire State and Society.

Care should be taken by the State to see that religion is taught in the schools—in one way or another. This *is* in the interest of the State. Regulations of course have to be different in different countries, yet it would be a fallacy to believe that a variety of religious beliefs automatically renders such a task impossible. Experience in many countries (some with and some without a religious establishment) clearly shows that solutions are possible with a certain amount of good will.

There have always been persons who are intellectually or spiritually unable to accept any religious tenets and values. They should be treated with tolerance and compassion and,



at the same time, encouraged to gain at least an understanding of the "practical" values represented by religion.

18. Ethnicity, race, and citizenship must be respected. Ethnicity, primarily but not solely distinguished by language, has a cultural character. Language, of course, affects our way of thinking, because thought travels on the rails of specific idioms. However, ethnicity involves not only language, but also customs, ways of thought, habits, food, and sometimes religion as well. It harbors rational as well as spiritual values. It is an integral part of a human being's personality and can, normally, only be changed in one's earlier years. Artificial "denationalization" is therefore an evil. It is also contrary to the principle of tradition.

Ethnicity must be distinguished from citizenship, which is a matter of legal status, changeable at any moment, but demanding loyalty. (Therefore in most countries new citizens take a solemn oath of allegiance.) It is also distinct from race, which is biological and unchangeable for an individual, although it may change in the course of generations.

Race is not intrinsically connected with ethnicity or citizenship, nor with religion or culture. It has, however, an effect on certain qualities—primarily, though not only, physical qualities. It is empirically obvious, after all, that very tall races produce better runners than very short ones, and that a sense of music is better developed among tropical than among arctic races. Yet, these and any other qualities in which races differ (like those in which men differ from women) are of a purely statistical, not a personal nature. Any discrimination based on ethnicity, race, sex, or religion in public life (which includes education) would therefore be illicit and should be ruled out. Persons have to be treated equally in order to evaluate their performance and their (obviously unequal) contribution to State and Society. "Equality" thus has not an intrinsic, but merely a procedural, value.

19. Tolerance *can* be exercised only by those who have well-grounded convictions (although it will not always be exercised even by them). For such people tolerance is an act of self-abnegation; although they are convinced that those who differ from them must be wrong, they nevertheless will protect their rights. Those who have no such convictions,

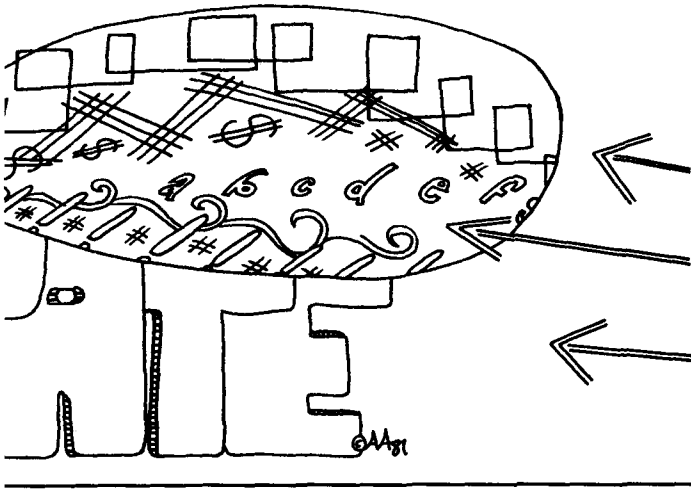
but who espouse polite doubt, agnosticism, skepticism, or downright nihilism, can only be *indifferent*, not tolerant. The two are by no means the same, and history has demonstrated the intolerance of those who claim that truth either does not exist or is humanly unattainable. In the name of doubt they have persecuted or repressed those defending well-grounded convictions.

20. Traditions should be discarded only if they are found to conflict with truth. Even "neutral" traditions foster peace, consensus, and, above all, a feeling of inner and outer security. They regulate society. Changes are sometimes necessary, and so is an occasional revision of traditions. But change purely for the sake of change is to be rejected because it creates insecurity, and a sense of security is important to Man. Rapid changes may be indulged in superficial matters, but when it comes to fundamentals, tradition, which means permanence, is highly desirable.

21. Patriotism, not nationalism, is the ideal political attachment. The patriot is proud of and happy about his country and the variety of cultures, languages, races, institutions, estates and classes, traditions and opinions it harbors. The nationalist is in danger of considering himself (as part of a collective unit) superior to the members of other nationalities (ethnic groups). He comes dangerously close to the racist. His loyalties have taken on a horizontal rather than a vertical character.

Nationalism is a "natural" tendency: the nation is the cultural group one is born into (*natus*). The patriot, however, takes a supranatural, an ethical stand. He vows loyalty and affection to the country of his birth, of his forebears, or to an adopted fatherland. Indeed, there are great countries on this globe which have grown by virtue of choice and adoption on the part of their citizens rather than by birthrates.

Nationalism (and racism) have repeatedly created dissent, rebellion, and wars. The modern "popular" mass-war has ideological or nationalistic roots and sometimes even racist undertones. In Western civilization the wars before 1789 were largely conflicts between monarchs, fought by their paid volunteers; the peoples' wars only came with the collectivist ideas of the French Revolution, which introduced



conscription—"You all have the same rights, therefore you all have the same duties."

22. Diplomatic, economic, cultural, and other relations between countries have always existed. Today we have in addition a number of international institutions. Many of them are of a political character; some are useful, others are useless if not downright harmful. The Red Cross and the World Postal Union are early, though very dissimilar, examples of practical international organizations. There are also, however, institutions like the United Nations, striving to establish something like a world government.

A government of that kind might some day come into existence, but in such matters *kairos* (a Greek term for the "right time") is of crucial importance, and so are the nature, the structure, and the power of such an overarching institution. (The questions one would have to ask here are not dissimilar to those asked of men and women before marriage.) Such an august body, needless to say, requires common ideals, yet we are in many respects further from such common ideals than ever before in history. The official ideas and ideals moving, let us say, the USSR, Spain, Zambia, New Zealand, Yugoslavia, Saudi Arabia, Israel, and Italy are worlds apart. A world government *today* would be analogous to a marriage between *children* of different classes, creeds, colors, levels of intelligence, and moral qualities, motivated only by a precocious sexual attraction. Also, the notion of subsidiarity must be taken into consideration. A centralized (or even not so centralized) world government could try to destroy local cultures, traditions, and values, thereby depersonalizing big and small nations alike and establishing a dead level of civilization.

The present United Nations not only lacks a common moral denominator; it is also subject to the rule of mere numbers. The "peace-loving nations" that have full voting powers in it consist in their vast majority of countries in which corruption, illiteracy, tyranny, or a blend of all these is dominant. The United Nations has accepted sadistic, tyrannical governments while rejecting countries enforcing law, order, and justice, like Rhodesia. It has repeatedly refused to take a stand on decisive moral issues for purely political reasons. At the present stage any world government is out of the question.

23. For the defense of a country—essential as long as independent states exist—a standing army of volunteers is theoretically preferable to an army of conscripts. To be a soldier is a vocation like any other. To force a person to follow a profession for which he has no calling is a grave mistake. But if one major power adopts a system of conscription and general military training, other countries may be forced to follow suit. Whether such an emergency exists or not depends upon circumstances. Meanwhile, there is no reason to condemn a person for wanting to serve in another country's army any more than for preferring another citizenship. "Soldier" after all means mercenary.

24. In matters of justice the notion of legal positivism—i.e., that whatever a state decrees is legally and morally right—is to be rejected. Justice is not equality, but Ulpian's *Suum cuique* ("To everybody his due"). Yet the State should not promulgate laws arbitrarily. "Laws" (deciding what is right and what is wrong) have to be searched for and thus "discovered." There are only two basic sources of law: Revelation and the (far less distinct) Natural Law. Recently, we have seen parliaments decreeing that a person starts to be a human being 28 weeks after his conception, and then changing it to 24 weeks. Such arbitrariness in fundamental matters has to be avoided. Judges and courts must be absolutely independent of governmental or popular pressures.

25. A man's rights and duties are connected with his self-interest as well as with the Common Good, which is, successively, the good of mankind, of his own country, and of whatever groups he consciously belongs to (province, city, village, family, profession, civic association). A person has the right to choose his own occupation, his own religion, his own partner in life, his own employer or employees, his own residence, doctors, teachers, friends, and associates. He has duties toward the community he lives in—primarily toward the State, but also toward Society. He has to give a reasonable amount of his wealth or income to the

A standing army is theoretically preferable to an army of conscripts. But if one major power adopts a system of conscription and military training, other countries may be forced to follow suit

Human freedom is not an end in itself. It can never be absolute. It is a condition to live and act in. One must make efforts to become a transformed person in the eyes of God

State, and, if his conscience or his religion compels him, to the indigent part of society (which, for his act of charity, owes him gratitude). He has to contribute financially toward defense, and he might even be called upon to defend his country physically. To the State and its laws he owes loyalty and obedience, unless his (well-formed) conscience forbids him to do this. There are situations in which conscience prompts us to resist the State by legal or even illegal means.

26. Human freedom is not an end in itself. It can never be absolute. It is a *condition* to live and to act in. Nor is

self-realization a legitimate human goal. One must make efforts to become a transformed person in the eyes of God. Nor can the pursuit of happiness on this Earth be a permanent aim of a believing person. Still, one can subscribe to the formula: "As much liberty as possible (without hurting the Common Good) and as much restraint as necessary (to protect the Common Good)." At the same time one has to realize that the Common Good (which always encompasses personal freedom) cannot be rigidly outlined. A complete consent will always be rare and a certain arbitrariness will always mark its definition.

Epilogue

What is the alternative to an ideology, a *Weltanschauung*, a public philosophy uniting the Free World? What could take its place as a uniting bond giving us enthusiasm, confidence, a common task and vision? Certainly not a refined skepticism or a readiness to compromise. And least of all a trial-and-error pragmatism. The chimpanzee, attempting to reach the banana with the help of wooden boxes, tries until he succeeds. Yet the pressure of time prohibits such a procedure for us. Above all, this approach is not truly human.

Man is called to be Promethean in the etymological sense of the term. *Promethein* means to think first and then to act according to reasoned plans and ideas. Prometheus, however, had a brother, Epimetheus, Pandora's lover, who acted swiftly and then reflected sadly on his action. We

must remember that the Free World for a generation and a half has merely tried to parry the blows of the enemy. When it succeeded in thwarting an attack we shouted triumphantly, but it has never taken the initiative because it has never had a vision, a theoretical let alone a concrete aim. The nihilism which now plagues the still-Free World must come to an end if we are not to perish. The problem of survival is not a purely military one. Let us therefore in every respect be Promethean and not Epimethean. In Goethe's words:

*The day has not yet passed away,
But our time to act runs short.
Soon will the dark night have its sway
When ev'ry striving comes to naught.*

□

Lodes of Pun

Datsun awful lots of imports
Causing trouble in Detroit.
It is really any Honda, then,
That labor cries: "We're hoit?"

Leonid'nt worry more
About the grain embargo—
Relief is felt from Brownsville's shore
To North Dakota's Fargo.

Abscam's caused some congressmen
A tummy pain to get.
Was it Abscam that he bit upon
Or something that Jenrette?

We'll have no more of Watergates.
A Nixon that we'll get,
And the budget will be balanced
If you'd Carter make a bet.

Keynesian economics sure
Have brought the world to woe.
Old England's had her troubles, too.
(Just Thatcher ought to know.)

Kennedy'cent senator, wildly tilting,
Defend the liberal cause?
While Jesse Helms the ultra-Right.
Oh, does he? Jesse does.

We've Reagan'ed the initiative.
A silver lining's up above.
The country's on the move again
And Bush has come to shove.

Such doggerel I hesitate
To put my name upon.
So, adios, good friends of mine,
I'll see you all

—ANON.

Porsche 911S

to maintain firm tire-road contact. In addition, compared to a leaf or coil spring, it conserves weight and space, two essential requirements of today's automotive designs. Dr. Ferdinand Porsche first introduced automotive torsion bar springs nearly 60 years ago.



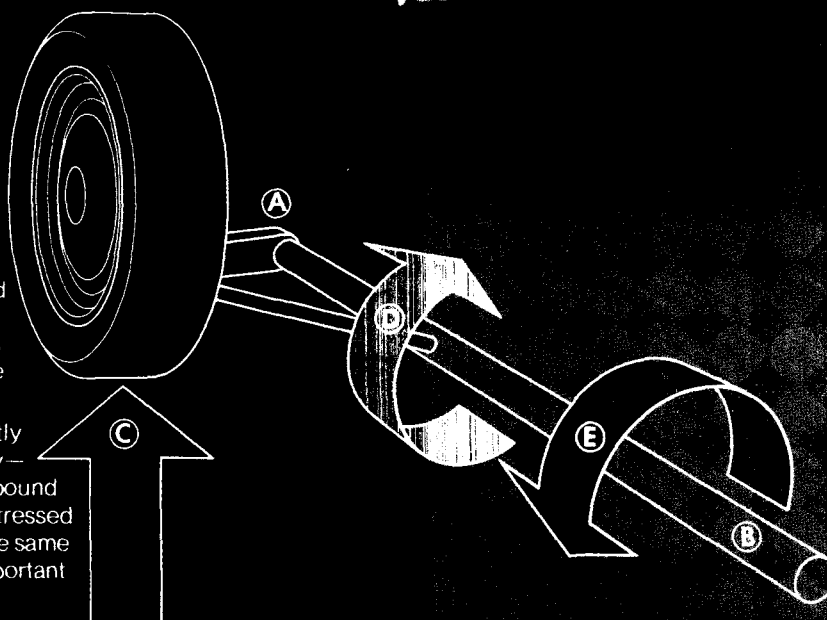
Basically, the torsion bar spring is a long, solid, steel shaft that is anchored at one end (A) to the suspension's control arm and at the other end (B) to the vehicle's frame.

Torsion itself is the twisting action that occurs in the bar when one end (A) is twisted while the other end (B) remains fixed.

When a vertical impact on a wheel (C) is transmitted through the control arm to the torsion bar, the bar twists (D) to absorb the impact. And the bar's natural resistance to twisting quickly restores it (E) to its original position, thus returning the wheel to the road.

A torsion bar can store a significantly higher maximum amount of energy — based on inch pounds energy per pound of spring — than either an equally-stressed leaf or coil spring. Thus, to meet the same application, a torsion bar offers important weight savings.

In addition, compared to a coil spring, a torsion bar requires significantly less space. Thus, on the 911's front suspension (diagrammed here), it can both provide more room for the luggage compartment and minimize air-flow restrictions below the vehicle which increases aerodynamic efficiency.



The torsion bar has been standard equipment on the 911 since the 911's initial production, 17 years ago. At Porsche, excellence is expected.

For your nearest dealer, call toll-free: (800) 447-4700. In Illinois, (800) 322-4400. **PORSCHE + AUDI**
NOTHING EVEN COMES CLOSE

The KGB in Canada (Yawn)

DONALD COXE

ONE OF the less flattering statistics cited by the *New York Times* in its background reports on the Ottawa Summit Conference was that our capital is the second coldest in the world (behind Outer Mongolia's). This has been a somewhat chilly summer, and one of the more frigid periods came when the Government once again fought off demands that it reveal the extent of KGB penetration at the highest official levels.

The Opposition's sudden interest in this topic came when Britain was rocked by revelations in Chapman Pincher's sensational *Their Trade Is Treachery*. Details in that book about extensive Soviet operations in Canada and Canadian embassies were embarrassing, but the coincidence of a Canadian TV documentary on KGB operations in North America made it look for a while as if Canadians would finally get an admission from the Liberals about their decades-long coverup. Canada's national symbol is a beaver, but this relates to our early history as a fur-trading nation; more recently a mole would be characteristic.

The first evidence of Soviet spies here came in 1945 when Igor Gouzenko, a clerk in the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, defected. He took with him enough information to break a major spy ring and jail a leftist MP. A Royal Commission was set up to assess the evidence, and some of its findings were eventually made public. But many of its papers remained secret. They were supposed to be declassified thirty years later, but that deadline expired in 1976 and the Government has steadily resisted Tory demands that they be published.

Allan Lawrence, Solicitor-General during the short-lived Clark government, says he was endeavoring to get the papers released when the government fell. Tory MP Tom Cossitt, one of the tiny minority who takes Soviet spies seriously, alleged that documents pointed the finger of suspicion at a man who was to become Deputy Minister of Finance. Although Cossitt has declined to name

the man suspected, there is no longer much doubt here that Robert Bryce, who became the most powerful civil servant in Canada from 1954 to 1963, was on Gouzenko's list. Bryce himself has admitted that he could be the one mentioned, although he continues to deny that he was ever a spy.

'American Witch-Hunters'

Bryce's history is interesting. He was a close friend at Cambridge and Harvard of Herbert Norman, introducing Norman to the Marxist economist Shigeo Tsuru. Norman became a leading Canadian diplomat. He committed suicide in 1957 when he was to be recalled to Ottawa for further interrogation about his Communist associations. Bryce had personally been responsible for screening Norman (and all other top officials), so it was not at Ottawa's instance that Norman was recalled. The U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (staffed at that time by a young counsel named William A. Rusher) had published testimony linking Norman with prominent Communists. Norman's

death seemed to end the investigation, although a vigorous Canadian campus protest against "murdering American witch-hunters" helped. (I led that protest and made the front page of the *New York Times* for my denigration of Rusher's committee, but that's another story.)

Pincher has now revealed that Norman killed himself because he would have had to implicate "more than a hundred people," including some senior officials and politicians. One of those who would probably have seen his career destroyed was Lester Pearson, who had defended Norman all the way, and would have been shown to be at best naïve. Another was a Canadian ambassador to Moscow, John Watkins. Watkins died in 1964 of an apparent heart attack and was given the obsequies due a successful career diplomat. Now we learn that Watkins was a homosexual who, voluntarily or to avoid exposure, became a Soviet spy. He died in a suburban Montreal motel room after 48 hours of interrogation by the Mounties. The circumstances of his death remain mysterious, and the coroner, now a Quebec judge, has refused all comment.

Spies on the Dole

The Liberals steadfastly declined to give the Justice and Legal Affairs Committee of the Commons further details on Watkins's demise. The Tories' frustration culminated when Allan Lawrence told the House that classified documents are protecting two Canadian embassy officials who were caught by foreign intelligence officers as spies but were not prosecuted and are today living on fully indexed pensions in Canada. He also claimed he had been unable to look at security files related to Pierre Trudeau's past because Joe Clark had made a deal with Trudeau not to release files without Trudeau's assent.

Stonewalling won the day for the Government, and the Opposition gave up and went on to the issues bothering most voters—inflation, interest rates, and the postal strike. The chill winds blew out to sea and the brief excitement about world-scale cloak-and-dagger men faded. As most Canadians know, we just don't do those things. □



Mr. Cox is NR's Canadian correspondent.

The pencil problem—1990

Monte Throdahl is senior vice president for Monsanto. He recently addressed a Washington, D.C., conference on toxics control. The following is extracted from his prepared text. He describes it himself as "an exaggeration to the point of outrage." That it may be. But it does make a point.

This is the story of the U.S. pencil industry. Remember, we are looking back from our vantage point of 1990. It's strange to think that, back in 1979, just anyone could use a pencil any way they wanted to.

You see, it all started when the Occupational Safety & Health Act carcinogen policy went into effect. The graphite in the pencil leads always contained a residue of crystalline silica. And there was at least one animal test and an in-vitro test indicating that crystalline silica produced tumors, so the material became regulated as a carcinogen. There was no alternate for pencils, so exposure had to come down almost to zero. Workers were put into protective clothing, and that solved the problem initially.

But then the Environmental Protection Agency, acting under the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, which soon had their own carcinogen policies, required drastic reductions in emissions and effluents. The control technology was quite expensive, and only the largest manufacturers could afford it. This caused a flurry of antitrust suits in the early '80s when there were only three pencil makers left in the country. One of the three was split into smaller companies, but they soon went out of business since they were unable to afford increasingly stringent workplace and pollution control requirements. Then foreign pencil manufacturers began to threaten to dominate the pencil market, and our government, in an abrupt about-face, allowed a merger of the two remaining companies to meet overseas competition.

The Consumer Product Safety Commission then became concerned with what the newspaper headlines were calling the "pencil problem." Rubber erasers could be chewed off and choke small children. The sharp points of pencils could also be dangerous. There were residual solvents in the paint used on pencils, and pencil-chewing seemed to be a more widespread habit than anyone had realized. Printing a legend on each pencil that said: "This Pencil Could Be Hazardous To Your Health," did not seem to affect consumer pencil habits, a Harvard study indicated. In fact, the study found additional potentially harmful uses, such as stirring coffee. This led FDA to declare that harmful substances could be dissolved out of the pencil into the coffee, and thus pencils violated food additive laws, including the Delaney amendment.

Trying to salvage its business, the pencil company began making pencils without paint, without erasers, and with only soft leads so they would not hold a sharp point. But consumers were outraged, and sales declined.

Then someone invented a machine that could measure crystalline silica below the part-per-trillion level, and workplace, air emission, water effluent, and waste disposal regulations required that the best practicable technology be used to reach this low level. The pencil company was threatened with financial ruin because of the large sums needed to purchase new control equipment. There were those that wanted to ban pencils entirely under the Toxic Substances Control Act, but the government decided that pencils were necessary, particularly since they were used to write new regulations. Besides, the Senators from the state where the pencil company was located declared that pencils were as American as baseball, and should not be replaced with ball-point pens.

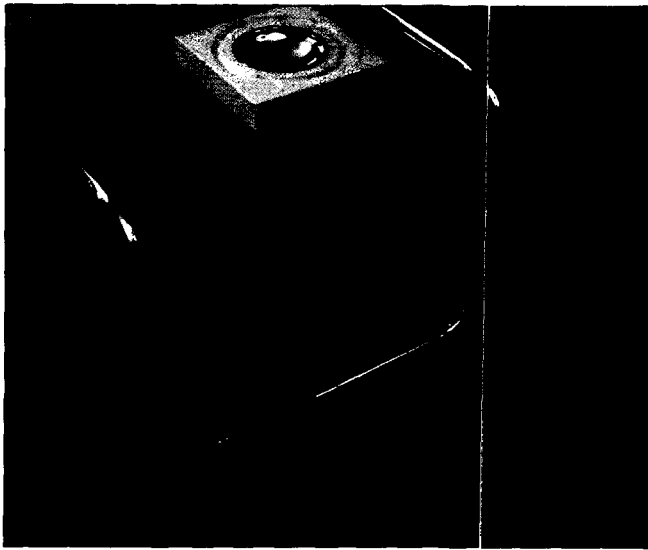
So the government bailed out the pencil company with a large, guaranteed loan—called a Chrysler loan in those days. But, of course, that was only a temporary measure, and to protect the pencil business, the government eventually nationalized it.

It is comforting to know, after all, that society is being protected against a danger that was so obvious we didn't even notice it for many, many years. There are still those who complain about paying \$17 for a pencil, but you really can't put a price tag on health or safety.

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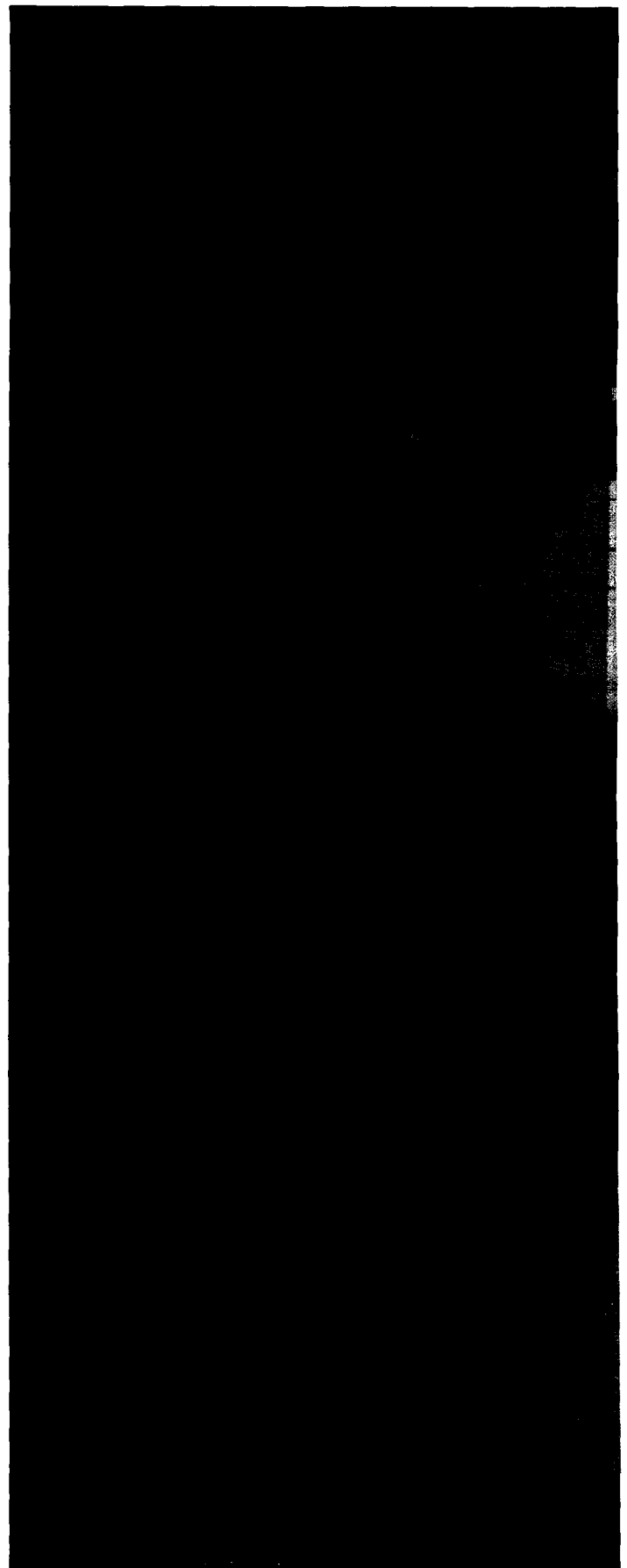
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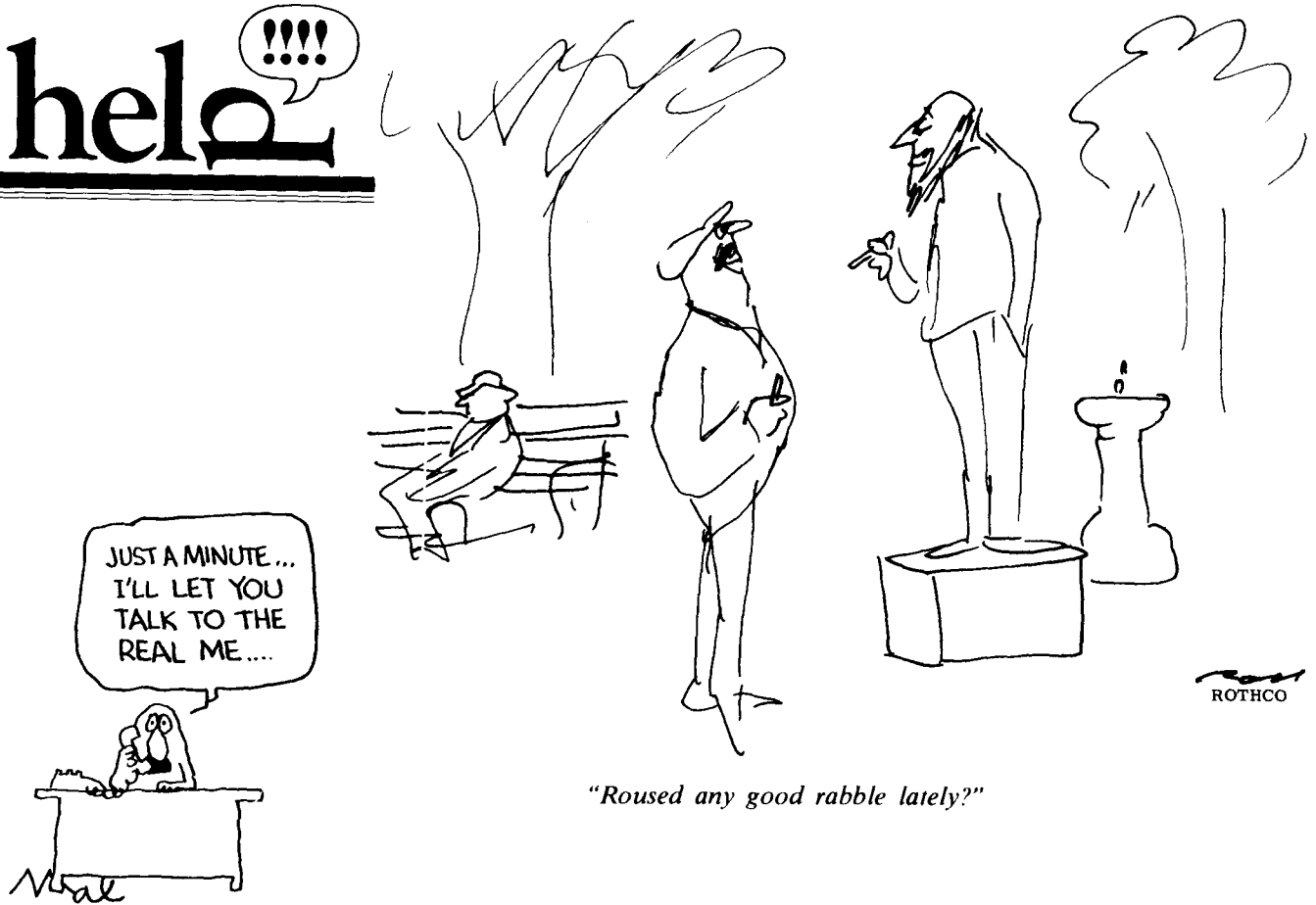
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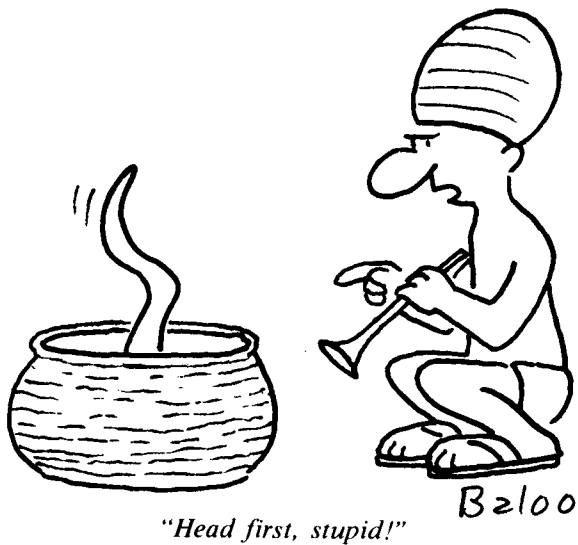
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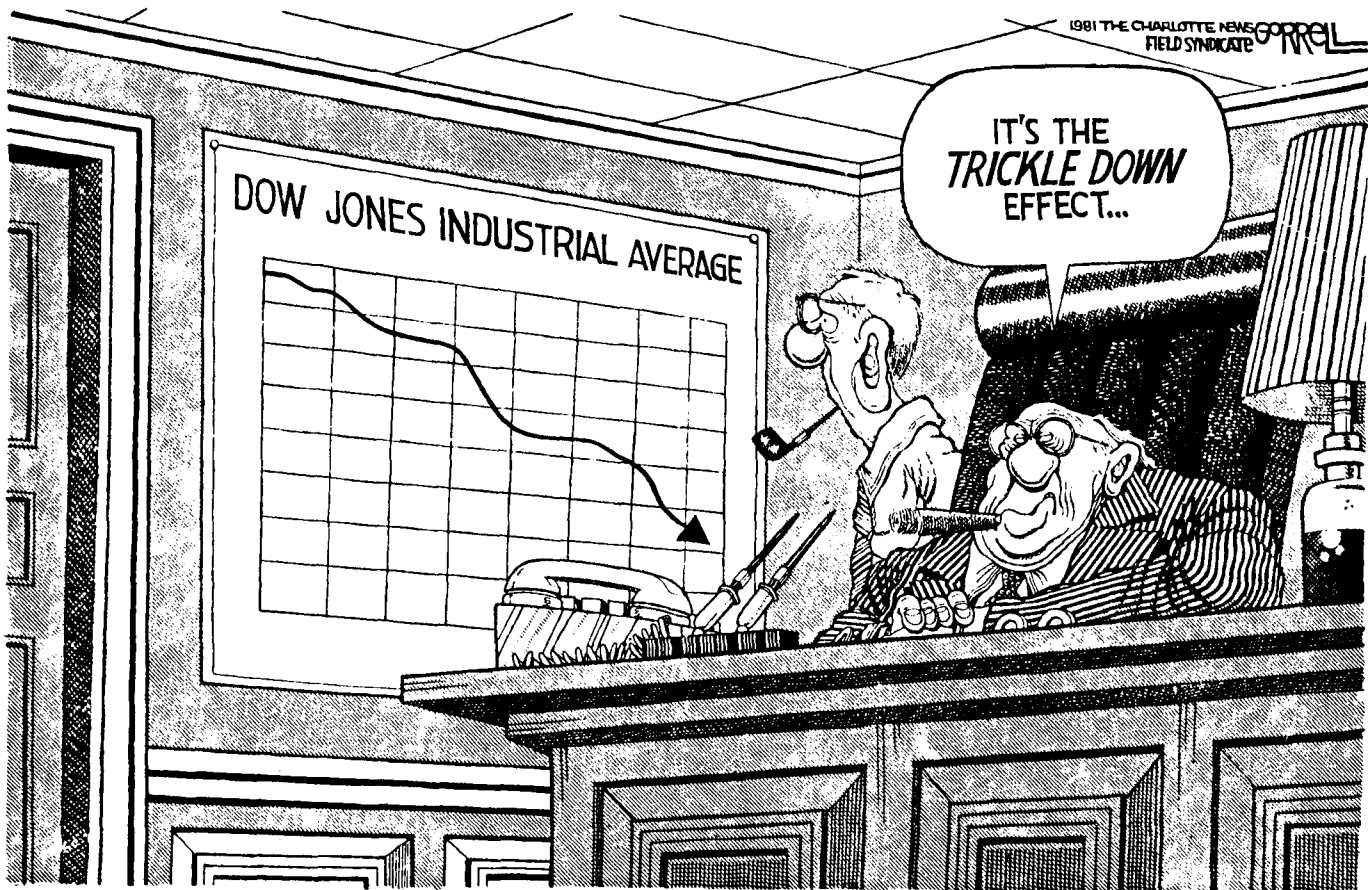
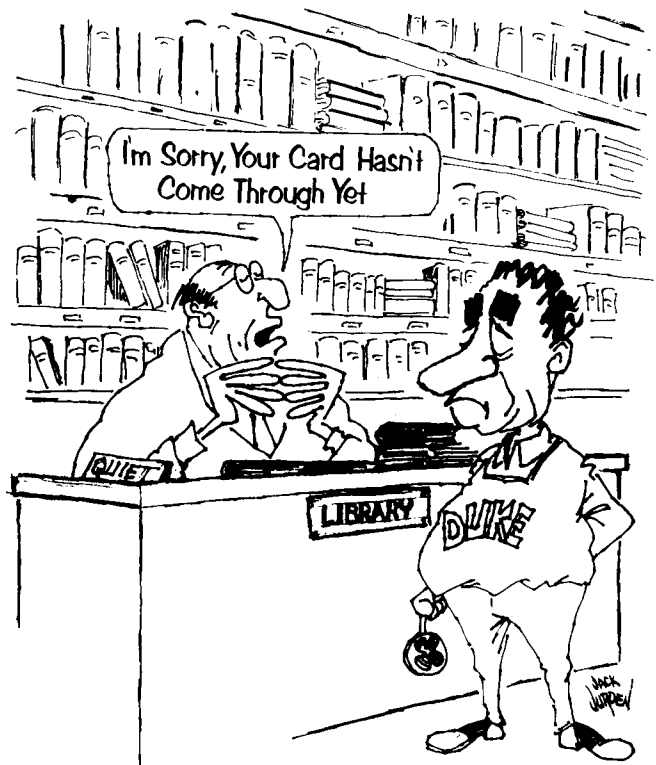




Gold

Beryl Sprinkel tends to slight it;
 Donald Regan holds his nose;
 Liberals, knee-jerking, fight it;
 Keynes removed it from his prose.
 Yes, I know it's been behaving
 Like a yo-yo on a string,
 But what everyone's been craving,
 Paper currencies can't bring.

W. H. VON DREELE



The Breakthrough

In Algebra

ALGEBRA is a learned skill and can be taught just as effectively as any other learned skill. Teaching a skill requires patience and the realization that understanding of concepts is not a prerequisite of the initial development of skills: understanding often follows the ability to do rather than precedes it.

Speaking a mother tongue is a learned skill that is mastered by the quick and the slow, by the gifted and the non-gifted, and by both logical and illogical thinkers. People in any of these categories can also become bilingual in the proper environment. Ask an eight-year-

old child of a Vietnamese refugee a question in either Vietnamese or English, whichever you prefer. If it is your wish, he will reply in Vietnamese to questions in English and in English to questions in Vietnamese. He has learned the skill of expressing his thoughts with facility in both languages. One never attempts to relate the fact of mastery of these languages to the intelligence of the child, or to confuse this mastery with a presumed mastery of logic by an eight-year-old. The child simply speaks two languages.

Algebra is the basic language of all mathematics beyond arithmetic. Unless

a student can speak the language of algebra fluently, he is denied understanding of further mathematics and is denied the capacity to acquire knowledge in mathematically based fields such as engineering or physics.

We have let the control of mathematics education in the United States fall into the hands of people who confuse skills with "smarts" and demand that understanding must always precede the ability to do. These teachers do not understand that mathematics uses logic as a tool and believe instead that mathematics teaches logical thought processes. (They forget that some of the most illogical people they know are to be found in the ranks of their mathematical peers.) The falsity of their premises is manifested by the mass exodus from mathematics and things mathematical by American schoolchildren and by the precipitous decline in scores on standardized mathematics tests. Mathematics for the non-brilliant has almost been destroyed. The books these people have written and condoned have few verbal explanations, emphasize trivial concepts, and do not provide the repetition necessary for comprehension, retention, and eventual mastery of the skills.

A good algebra book should have clear explanations, present the topics in increments rather than in hunks, emphasize fundamental concepts, and provide that daily repetition that is necessary for mastering the subject. Any student can learn algebra from such a book.

We demonstrated the accuracy of this statement during the 1980-81 school

TEST NUMBER FIVE WORD PROBLEMS ABOUT NUMBERS

1. If the sum of a number and -5 is multiplied by 2 , the result is 13 less than the number. What is the number?
2. $2\frac{1}{2}$ of what number is $\frac{3}{8}$.
3. Twice the opposite of a number is increased by 16 . The result is 22 greater than the number. What is the number?
4. $3\frac{3}{5}$ of $6\frac{1}{2}$ is what number?
5. If the sum of a number and -2 is multiplied by 5 , the result is 28 less than the opposite of the number. What is the number?
6. What fraction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ is $3\frac{1}{4}$?

year in a project in twenty central Oklahoma high schools.* The project was monitored by, and the results will be certified by, the Oklahoma Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO). We began, in August 1980, by giving over 1,300 Algebra I students the California Achievement Test in mathematics (level 18C) to determine individual preparedness. The control-group students were then taught out of the Algebra I book normally used by their school. The test group used my Prentice-Hall college-level beginning algebra book. My book, which attempts to fulfill the description of a good algebra book given above, was augmented with 130 extra problem sets to make it suitable for a full year's use by high-school students. The same teachers taught both groups.

Last spring all the students were given 16 short tests on 16 fundamental skills of beginning algebra. The test questions were selected from questions submitted by the teachers, and the tests were given after the topics had been covered in both books.

*Carnegie, Cushing, Del City, Holdenville, Lindsay, Madill, Marlow, Moore, Okemah, Oklahoma City (2), Okmulgee, Ponca City (2), Purcell, Seminole, Stillwater, Tecumseh, Wetumka, and Yukon.

The first four tests were given in February 1981. (A sampling of these tests and the analysis of the results were printed in the May 29 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW.) The average gains by students using the Saxon book were 64 per cent on evaluation of expressions, 108 per cent on adding like terms, 109 per cent on simplifying expressions containing signed numbers, and 141 per cent on solving simple equations in one unknown. The skills tested in the later tests are based in part on the skills tested in these tests, and thus even greater gains later on by the Saxon students should not be too surprising.

The next four tests were given in March 1981; samples are scattered throughout this article. Please note that each test is a test of a fundamental algebraic skill. Intelligence and test-taking ability will not determine a student's score on any of these tests. He has learned the skill being tested, or he has not.

The results of these four tests are shown in the accompanying table. Since the disparities between levels are so extreme, the gain of the Saxon students is given in percentage terms at each level for each test.

These figures show that the Saxon students have learned just about what one would expect. In each test, the lowest-scoring students got on average about a quarter to a third of the problems correct, while the highest-scoring got two-thirds and up. Not outstanding scores by any means, but these are just average 15-year-old ninth-graders in public schools.

The shock comes when these scores are compared to the scores of the students who had the same teachers but were taught out of one of the three textbooks that dominate the market. Their scores look like scores from students taking other courses from other teachers on other planets. The disparity is almost beyond belief. The scores reveal that the brightest control students have been severely damaged and that the less gifted have been devastated. They seem to have some ability to factor but know almost nothing about the other three skills tested. Look at the scores on Tests Five and Seven. On these tests the low Saxons (CAT below 44 per cent) outscored the brilliant controls (CAT above 78 per cent) by 19 and 5 per cent respectively. When the slowest outscore the brilliant on a well-supervised test with this many students in this many schools, something is terribly wrong.

A critic might point out that the Saxon students have been drilled on problems like these for a long time and argue that for this reason the tests are unfair. You had better believe the Saxon students have been practicing problems like these. They also have been practicing problems on every other fundamental skill they know in every homework problem set every night. That is the way skills are learned. That is the way skills are mastered. That is the way skills are retained. Ask Van Cliburn why he practices so much. Ask Pete Rose and Reggie Jackson why they take batting practice. And then ask the victims of the prevalent methods of teaching algebra what they think. Ask a student who has flunked out of engineering school because his foundation in mathematics

Mr. Saxon, a former Air Force test pilot, teaches at Oscar Rose Junior College in Midwest City, Oklahoma. His earlier article, "Algebra Made Understandable," appeared in the May 29 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW.

	TEST FIVE WORD PROBLEMS 6 Problems		TEST SIX ADDING EXPRESSIONS 8 Problems		TEST SEVEN EXPONENTS 6 Problems		TEST EIGHT FACTORING 6 Problems	
Average Number Correct and Percentage Gains								
	Control	Saxon	Control	Saxon	Control	Saxon	Control	Saxon
Low (CAT below 44%)	0.35 554% gain	2.29	0.38 368% gain	1.78	0.15 940% gain	1.56	0.79 199% gain	2.36
Low-Medium (CAT 44% to 63%)	0.43 628% gain	3.13	0.68 341% gain	3.00	0.37 478% gain	2.14	1.72 63% gain	2.81
High-Medium (CAT 64% to 78%)	0.95 340% gain	4.18	1.11 283% gain	4.25	0.62 394% gain	3.06	2.36 72% gain	4.05
High (CAT above 78%)	1.92 162% gain	5.03	2.06 173% gain	5.62	1.48 188% gain	4.26	3.70 28% gain	4.74
Total Average	0.92 289% gain	3.58	1.24 190% gain	3.60	0.78 246% gain	2.70	2.29 52% gain	3.48

TEST NUMBER SIX ADDITION OF RATIONAL EXPRESSIONS

Find the common denominator and add the following algebraic expressions.

1. $\frac{x}{ay} + \frac{2m}{a^2y^3} + x$
2. $\frac{4}{m+x} + \frac{6p}{x^2}$
3. $\frac{4+x}{ax} + \frac{3}{4x^2}$
4. $\frac{a}{x+2} + \frac{3a^2}{x^2}$
5. $\frac{4}{x} + c + \frac{1}{y}$
6. $k + \frac{1}{ka}$
7. $\frac{1}{k^2} + k + \frac{1}{k}$
8. $\frac{a^2b}{c} + c$

was a profanation. Ask a student who has been denied entrance to medical school or dental school because his test scores indicated deficiencies in mathematical skills.

In fact, our tests were made easier by omitting both zero exponents and negative exponents so that no claim of unfairness could be leveled. The Saxon students have fully mastered both of these concepts, while the control group students have almost no skill in these areas.

We are culpable for letting the pseudo-experts destroy mathematics for the non-brilliant student. We have let them convince us that only students with the ability to intuit answers should be permitted to survive and that the rest should be weeded out. And we have be-

lieved the assumption that smart children have not been damaged. A close look at the scores above shows this is not true.

When I began this enterprise six years ago, I strongly believed that I could find a better way to teach algebra, but the results have outpaced even my expectations.

The hardback high-school version of my book was published in late August by Grassdale Publishers, 1002 Lincoln Green, Norman, Oklahoma 73069, and will be available to Oklahoma schools and possibly to a few others. Time has not permitted nationwide distribution for the 1981-82 school year, but inspection copies may now be ordered, for \$12.60 pre-paid, from Thompson Book Depository, 39 Northeast 24th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73152.

I have done my job: I have developed

TEST NUMBER SEVEN WHOLE NUMBER EXPONENTS

Simplify the following expressions.

1. $\frac{(x^2yp)^3x^3y}{p^2p^{10}p^2}$
2. $\frac{(xyp)(xy)^2p^2}{(x)(yp)xy^2(p)}$
3. $\frac{(x^2y)^2(x^2)^{25}y^2}{(x^{10}y^2)^5x}$
4. $\left(\frac{xp}{y}\right)xy\left(\frac{x}{y}\right)^3$

Multiply by using the distributive property and then simplify the result.

5. $\frac{x^2x}{y}\left(\frac{y^4x}{x^2} - \frac{2xy^2}{y}\right)$
6. $\frac{ab}{c^2}\left(\frac{cc^4b}{c} - 5a^2bc^2\right)$

TEST NUMBER EIGHT GREATEST COMMON FACTOR

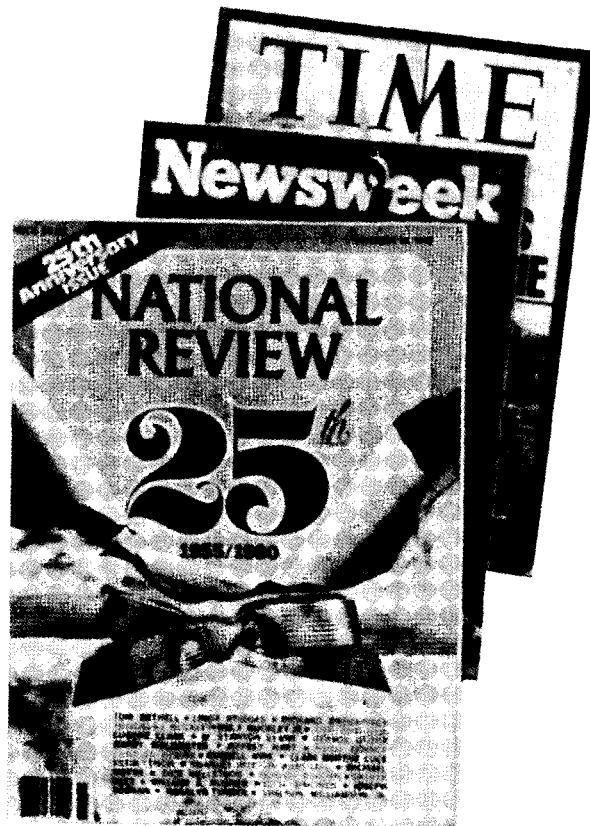
Factor out the greatest common factor.

1. $4x^2y^2z + 2xy^2$
2. $x^2ym^2 - 4x^2y^2m^2 + 2x^2y^2m$
3. $ax^2y - 2x^3y + 3x^2y$
4. $4m^2xy^2 - 8mx^2y^2 - 12mxy^2$
5. $3x^3a^4y^3 + 6x^6a^6y^4 - 3x^2a^3y^3$
6. $3a^5y^7b^6 - 6a^4y^6b^5 - 9a^2y^2b^2$

the concept, written and refined the book, tested it with the help of the Educational Reviewer and twenty Oklahoma schoolteachers. I have been turned down by the major publishing houses because I was not a committee of experts; and still the book will be printed, and it will be available for children to use in the fall of 1982. Your child need not use a standard book and be crippled in algebra. You can do your part by ensuring that your school checks out this report and acts. A few administrators will vote to sacrifice another year of their students' time and effort by failing to adopt the book. Your job is to see that this does not happen. Pick up the phone and call your school. □

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- **Where's Conservatism At? Where's It Going?** Jeffrey Hart, Harry Jaffa, others continue the discussion that Erik v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn kicks off in this issue
- **Why Is Russia Building New Labor Camps?** Dmitry Mikheyev reports on a disturbing development
- **Deferred Payment: The Real Cost of the Cuban Missile Crisis.** Harold W. Rood explains
- **Should the U.S. Sign the Law of the Sea?** Some interesting views by William R. Hawkins
- **Is the Trilateral Commission All Bad?** Richard Brookhiser investigates



But you *will* find them in coming issues of *National Review* (and *only* in *National Review*). Articles like these are important to you for this good reason — *they keep you in touch with the “other” point of view* and that’s come to be a necessity for the truly informed person in these days of “homogenized” news reporting.

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LETTER FROM SPAIN

An Angry Ex-Resident Looks—Angrily—at the Current Scene

F. REID BUCKLEY

Spain this summer celebrated her fifth season of Democracy; and what the Romans and the Habsburgs and Sir Francis Drake and the Bourbons couldn't do to destroy the nation over its two thousand years of turbulent history, Democracy has done in just five.

COMILLAS, Santander, Aug. 8—Lives aren't worth a plugged nickel here. Political assassinations since the death of Franco run upwards of six hundred; the incidence seems to have decelerated slightly, so that with any luck maybe only a hundred or so mostly retired functionaries, or cops on the beat, will be blown up in their cars or cut down by submachine guns in front of their wives and children in 1981. Pilgrage, riots, arson, and general devilry are the order of the day. The Province of Vizcaya may be without power tomorrow; a campaign of terrorist bombings that began in January and that has so far demolished two billion pesetas' (\$20 million) worth of installations culminated in mammoth explosions this past weekend that totally wrecked the remaining transformers.

Sabotage isn't confined to industry. There is mindless nihilism everywhere. Vandals enter houses and trash them. No one is ever caught. Nothing is done. They enter houses and steal wholesale what they don't trash. Forget it. No one is ever caught. No one dares raise a voice or lodge a complaint—you want a knife in your throat next time round? Ripoffs, beatings, muggings, murder rule the streets. God pity you if you discharge even an essentially apolitical job in government. Know a fellow directs the national soccer pool; he had to flee

his apartment in San Sebastián on 24 hours' notice, his life in the balance. Police told him they could not protect him. He's since run his office from Madrid, making furtive infrequent trips into the Easque city, where he does not tarry.

It's not just the rabid ETA. Not just the splintering nationalist irredentism among the Basques and Catalans, for which there is historical precedent. It has reached the absurd extreme of the Province of Madrid (Castilla la Nueva)—seat of the central government against which every other region of the country is revolting—also campaigning for *autonomía*; that is, to secede from itself.

There is a breakdown of civility and good will everywhere. Know a fellow has nothing to do with politics or government, runs a small factory. Labor dispute. Wages. He doesn't own the

place; he's just paid to manage it. But he was tipped off at midnight this past spring that he'd better hie himself, wife, and six children the hell out of the house right away quick. They wasted no time vacating, running through town in the dismal pre-dawn hours seeking shelter. (The thugs didn't strike until the night after, but they did a thorough job, smashing and looting and fouling the premises with spray-paint. The walls of the factory still show graffiti of coffins with tapers fore and aft, beneath the legend: *Death to Sr. M.*) The most glyptic image of a society-in-fission that I have run across was a photograph in a magazine of a criminal being held between two police officers. Instead of covering his face with, say, his jacket, as most recreants seek to do, he was mugging at the camera. The faces of the police, however, are carefully blanked, because in today's Spain it is more dangerous to be an officer of the law than someone accused of the deaths of dozens.

Quite simply, Democracy to date has been a calamity. Its seeds are in the post-Franco Constitution, which is a monument to rigid ideological dogmas, almost all Jacobinical. There was a half-mad bohemian poet at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 who would stick a pistol in the face of



© Frans de Boer, Amsterdam

*Mr. Buckley, a novelist and lecturer, lived in Spain for 12 years, and returns to visit every summer. His novel on Spain is *Servants and Their Masters*.*

colleagues and shout, "I kill you not because you are a fascist, but because you are a bad poet." Pity he's not around today to take vengeance on the scribes of the Constitution. Instead of Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, and Gouverneur Morris, imagine Frank Church, Bella Abzug, Howard Metzenbaum, David Dubinsky, and Tip O'Neill. Imagine Independence Hall being given over to the combined offices of HEW and OSHA, with Joseph Califano as the stylist.

No Gilder, No Laffer

The result (fifty small-type pages) is a brooding nagian tome through whose dreary pages one plods (not all the way through; masochist I am not) without stumbling across a single inspired phrase or political conception. Clumsy compromises, unresolved conflicts, with an underlying philosophy that derives from the Fabian/liberal-humanist traditions, soaked in secularism, of yesteryear. It's as up-to-date as Sinclair Lewis. It offers a degree of decentralization, true, in terms of local authority for the provinces; but in almost every other dimension the State is magnified. It meddles in everything imaginable, from primary education to hangnails—so ponderous and boring that if one adult Spaniard in ten thousand has read it through I'll eat my hat. The national boredom and disgust was such that 32 per cent of the voting public sat on its hands during the referendum.

And the Democracy that ensued has indeed proved a mockery. It is too early to pronounce on the government of Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo (mostly warmed-over potatoes from previous administrations) but the ramrod and architect of democratic Spain, Adolfo Suarez,* turned out to be as vapid a leader as Jimmy Carter.

Not only is the nation in a state of political fission; the economy is a perfect shambles, with the peseta now hovering at one hundred to the dollar,

*Adolfo Suarez, who, with the King, was everybody's pet as the godfather of democracy in Spain, and who was one of the principal architects of the Constitution, shocked his colleagues this past July 28 at a meeting of his "center-moderate" UCD by confessing that, indeed, he had always been a man of the Left, and that he invited all "progressive" elements to join with him in splitting from the party and founding a new one.

which is the lowest evaluation in memory. Not so long ago Spain was an up-and-coming industrial power, ninth in the world by some reckonings. It is now a botched case. Ignorance of what makes things tick is almost absolute. Where the holy scripture is not Marx in the universities it is Keynes. The "center" (and ruling) UCD Party is liberal and collectivist. Second in power (and gaining) are the Socialists, who, though democratic, are doctrinaire in economics. The chief of the respectable *right*, the Alianza Popular, has lauded John Kenneth Galbraith as the greatest living economist. I kid you not. Which is to say that on this front there can be no hope at all.

There is no Gilder on the horizon and no Laffer in the wings. The economy is state-directed. Ever-higher wages are decreed. Deficits worsen. The stock market has long since crashed. Though recently there has been a twitch or two in the corpse, attributed to French capital in flight from Mitterrand, the commercial banks, still (alas!) the core of the private economy, are at roughly one-fifth their highs of four years ago. Not just the currency has been afflicted with the von Mises aphorism: commercial paper has been rendered worthless by the ink spilled on it.

Not so long ago to affix one's seal and fist (*pugno y sello*) to a demand note was a matter of such sacred honor that the Spaniard who could not discharge the debt might choose exile or even suicide. Now the notes pile up in bank vaults like confetti in the gutters after a Fifth Avenue parade. There is precious little honor of any sort left. This is the age of the jackal. It is the age of the get-rich-quick and the political fortune that legend describes as peculiar to the Franco era. Suarez is alleged to have retired a millionaire; this may not be Mexico yet, but give it time. As in Mexico, from politics and finance corruption has spread endemically throughout society. Even basic hygiene has gone, well, to pot. Last year it was cholera and hepatitis; this year it's botulism, and over 10,300 hospitalized (and still counting) and 97 dead (and still counting) from adulteration of olive oil.

Decency has followed sanitation down the *pozo negro*. What were once the strictest sexual mores in modern Europe (outside Ireland) may have no rival in promiscuity today. Spanish

high society and riffraff of the entertainment world may be irremediably corrupted. There is no pornography more vile or depraved anywhere, nor more offensively on view. Times Square, Soho, and Gomorrah are right there at your nearest corner kiosk or your neighborhood movie house. It's all in the name of Freedom of Speech and Conscience.

With malice a-plenty I used to twit my writer and artist acquaintances in Spain that whereas censorship is mediocrity's excuse for all seasons it is grist for the gizzard of genius, to wit Shakespeare and Cervantes. As starchy Luis Calvo, dean of Spanish journalism, said in a recent long interview with the Spanish magazine *ABC*, "I was always an independent journalist. No one corrected a single line. . . . I've had problems with the censors. Sure I've had them! But I managed . . ." Since official censorship has been almost wholly dropped, he notes, there hasn't been a single journalistic voice of quality or style discovered.

Freedom = License

Freedom of expression, Calvo observes elsewhere, has come to mean the photographing of genitalia from every conceivable angle. A Catalan protest singer, the androgynous Lluís Llach, who boringly describes himself as an "anarcho-Marxist" (who isn't, in his milieu?), was interviewed this past Monday by *Diario 16*, a Madrid newspaper; in the course of which he was asked to expatiate on his fame as a sexual polemicist. His reply: "If you're trying to ask whether I ejaculate with Mr. or Mrs., I won't answer. I leave that up to the prurience of your readers. I am out-and-out for sexual liberty with no autocastration whatever." *Diario 16*, being a good family newspaper, may not wholly approve; but a couple of pages later there's a photograph of naked lovelies in lesbian embrace, beneath which runs an article on the Reverend Donald Wildmon's drive to clean up television in the United States, emphasizing what terrible consequences for the Spanish viewer the campaign could have. "If one keeps in mind that 90 per cent of what's being filmed in [the U.S.] is sold throughout the world, one gains

(Continues on page 1222)

The Pope's Brilliant Encyclical

AT LAST the world has a Catholic Pope who from his twenties learned to think about the world in the teeth of Marxism. So Pope John Paul II's recent encyclical, *Laborem Exercens*, radiates with new and unusual angles of light. Ninety years ago, Pope Leo XIII revolutionized the way the Church addressed social questions, recognizing in *Rerum Novarum* ("On the Condition of Labor") that the Christian vocation is not only to save one's own immortal soul but also to work toward a just social order.

Recalling that encyclical, and others in its wake, Pope John Paul II has written a text more philosophical and more experiential than any in this entire ninety-year tradition. One of the key words he chooses is "solidarity." In 1981, that choice cannot be accidental. Nor can the reader escape the powerful relevance for Poland of many passages whose general language, however, has meaning in several other cultures too. When, for example, the Pope praises labor unions but warns them not to become political parties, and not to become too deeply involved in political activities, the mind of the reader goes not only to Poland but to Britain's Labor Party and to several other nations.

Often, Pope John Paul II refers to lessons of experience. His letter is rich with the sorts of distinctions philosophers love, but in every case these distinctions are grounded in lessons taken from the experience of our time.

The encyclical is long, 97 pages in pamphlet form. It is divided into five sections: an Introduction, "Work and Man," "Conflict between Labor and Capital in the Present Phase of History," "Rights of Workers," and "Elements for a Spirituality of Work." The Pope begins by placing his reflections in their historical context, and then uses the Book of Genesis as a springboard

Tomorrow and Tomorrow

MICHAEL NOVAK

to a positive philosophy of work, technology, personal dignity, the family, and national ethnic culture. With these concepts in place, he turns to the heart of the conflict of "the present phase of history." Looking West, he notes that capitalism ("neo-capitalism") has altered much during the past century, and that many concrete experiments in profit-sharing, cooperatives, and worker-management techniques are being carried out. Looking East, he shows how under state control of the means of production a "new class" gains total power. From vivid experience, he comes again to the tradition of private property, the point from which Leo XIII had begun. Both defend private property as a defense against state tyranny.

POPE JOHN Paul II recognizes, however, as Leo XIII could not, that private property no longer has a simple, absolutist meaning. Moreover, in complex systems like those of pluralistic liberal democracies, "absolute" property rights have long since eroded, as state regulations, requirements, and restrictions have relativized the rights of owners.

There are two central arguments in this encyclical. The first concerns the "subject" of labor—the person of the individual laborer. The Pope is eager to show that work, for all its toil and hardship, should also bring about growth in the human person: dignity, a sense of accomplishment, an increase of virtue and inner strength. Work is not merely for economic progress; economic progress is for the sake of the development of persons. This concept is essential to the emphasis the Pope wishes to place upon labor as the very heart of the social question—the key to it. We all must work. Our work is a spiritual vocation.

The second central argument is that labor has priority over capital, that capital is for labor, not labor for capital. "The principle of the priority of labor over capital is a postulate of the order of social morality." To clarify his meaning, the Pope proceeds by three steps. First, he wishes to overthrow the Marxist model of class conflict. In his view, labor and capital are not in opposition; the real persons suggested by such rough terms form a community and need each other. Second, the Pope

defines "labor" in a very broad way, and "capital" in a very narrow way. Thus, he means by capital the means of production, the tools, the machines—the bare materialistic bones. By contrast, he means by labor not merely blue-collar work but the intellectual work of discovery, invention, organization, and rationalization—much that other authors attribute to the inventor, researcher, entrepreneur, manager, and sales forces of an enterprise. While limiting "capital" to merely *materialistic* things, he places under "labor" all the activities of the human *spirit* which Adam Smith included in the nature and the cause of the wealth of nations.

Thirdly, he describes "early capitalism" and "the first half of the nineteenth century," the views of the "economists of that time," and other matters of historical fact. Here *Laborem Exercens* develops an interpretation of British and American industrial and intellectual history which may not hold up to analysis. The viewpoint Pope John Paul II takes in these matters of fact and historical interpretation is quite close to the orthodox Marxist interpretation of that period. Perhaps he concedes that much in order to be all the more thorough in his denunciation of Marxism. In any case, the brief historical sketches of capital and labor in *Laborem Exercens* work as illustrations, even for those who doubt their historical accuracy.

For the main point made by the Pope is that through human labor, including invention and discovery, human beings share in the creativity of God, help to complete His unfinished creation, build up civilization and culture, increase the wealth of all nations, liberate the poor from misery, and free them for unprecedented works of the human spirit. John Locke, Adam Smith, Montesquieu, Madison, Jefferson, and many others would not have put things quite this way, but one can imagine them cheering Pope John Paul II along—from, one imagines, balconies in heaven. Before popes wrote of the "reconstruction of the social order," one overhears them muttering to each other, *they* were imagining *novus ordo seclorum*. No Pope in their time, alas, saw things so clearly.

We can rejoice in this Pope of our time. □

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Books Arts & Manners

Race, Culture, and Reason

AARON WILDAVSKY

Thomas Sowell's vocation is economics conceived of as rational thought, or just reason. His avocation is teaching the rest of us how to think about social life by reflecting upon the experience of ethnic and racial groups in the United States.

My favorite of these books is *Markets and Minorities*: its charm and wit gently dissipate confusions, and its insights are ones that had heretofore eluded us. Yet it should be read in company with *Ethnic America*, the one offering the method and the other the empirical data against which rival theories may be scrutinized. The contribution of *Ethnic America* is that it emphasizes qualitative comparisons between different groups, so that whatever is lost by forcing them into theoretical formulas is gained back by knowing how much there is yet to understand.

Sowell is particularly strong in distinguishing the general factors operating in American society as a whole (age distribution, size of families, geographic location, acculturation) from the specific circumstances (market incentives, if you wish) affecting different ethnic and racial groups. The most vital question he asks is, How can we account for the different economic positions of these groups at various times?

Rather than taking discrimination as his starting point, which would put uniqueness before generality, he begins by looking at factors that affect every group's distribution of income. An essential proposition is that "differences in income between age groups are even greater than racial differences in income." Families headed by individuals under 25 years of age receive 93 per cent

less income than those headed by individuals 45 to 54 years old. When one takes into account that the median age of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is 18, of American Indians twenty, and of blacks 22, whereas that of Jews is 46, the age phenomenon is significant.

Since the passage of time brings different experiences to ethnic groups, the disparity in income between the middle-

Ethnic America: A History

By Thomas Sowell

Basic, 353 pp., \$16.95

Markets and Minorities

By Thomas Sowell

Basil Blackwell/International

Center for Policy Studies,

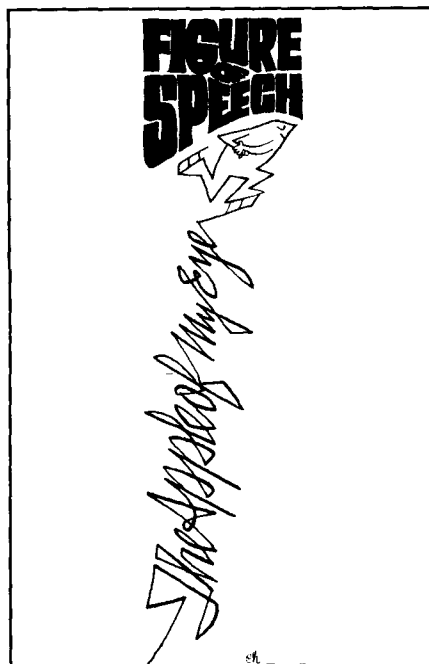
141 pp., \$13.50; paperback, \$6

aged members of a particular racial group and the population at large may be considerable, but it may be far less great between their youthful populations. Older Puerto Ricans, for example, earn 35 per cent less than people of their age in other groups; younger Puerto Ricans earn 3 per cent more. And because income differences vary regionally, the geographic concentration of ethnic groups has a lot to say about how much their members will make.

What about discrimination? It exists, of course, but how important it is depends on how one frames the question and what sorts of evidence one brings to bear upon it. Where it costs nothing to discriminate, Sowell predicts, there will be a great deal of discrimination; when discrimination is expensive, there will be considerably less. When labor is scarce and the markets for it are competitive, wages go up regardless of the prejudices of employers. When wages are subsidized, so that there are more applicants than positions, employers discriminate more.

It is understandable that labor unions should oppose payment by piece-rate and work done in the employee's home, since these make it more difficult for the union bosses to organize the work force. But in the case of minorities of color or of foreign languages and custom, whose habits and capacity may be difficult for others to judge, piece-work allows employers to offer jobs without taking excessive risks. "It is tempting to say that each individual should be judged as an

Jeffrey Meyers is a professor of English at the University of Colorado at Boulder. He is the author of biographies of Katherine Mansfield and Wyndham Lewis. . . . Terry Teachout is a freelance literary critic residing in Missouri. . . . Aaron Wildavsky is a member of the Survey Research Center at the University of California at Berkeley.



Thomas Sowell

THOMAS SOWELL was once described, with inordinate delicacy, as "an economist who happens to be black." That is a little like calling Marlene Dietrich an entertainer who happens to be female. Though he declines to claim accredited victim status, he is matter-of-fact about his race and its bearing on his intellectual life.

Somewhere along the line he mentioned having slept, in his youth, on a fire escape in Harlem, a datum often repeated to establish his humble origins. But the reason he brought it up was simply to prove that once upon a time, before enlightened social policies hit Harlem like a long-running hurricane, it was *safe* to sleep on fire escapes.

Now a handsome, young-looking 51, Sowell was born in North Carolina and was at the top of his class in a segregated school there. His family moved to Harlem, whereupon he moved directly to the bottom of the class. Notwithstanding this, he refuses to regard his early schooling as one of simple deprivation. "We never wondered why there weren't any white kids there," he says. "We never thought we'd be learning more if there *had* been white kids there. In fact, we never *thought* about white kids."

He points out that segregated schools varied in achievement as much as other schools, sometimes surpassing all-white schools. The Warren Court's assertion, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, that segregated schools produced inferior black education is, he insists, non-empirical—and unfairly denigrating to important black achievements under adverse circumstances. Besides which, it expresses and justifies a destructively paternalistic attitude, according to which a black child can't learn anything except in close proximity to a white one. With forced busing, he reflects ironically, the white man's burden has become "the white *child's* burden—to go forth and civilize the heathen."

Sowell quit high school, joined the Marines, somehow went to Harvard and eventually to the University of Chicago, where he was converted from Marxism to free-market economics. "I don't have



faith in the market," he says. "I have *evidence* about the market." Following Friedrich von Hayek, he insists on the empirical approach, emphasizing the general superiority of the individual's first-hand knowledge, for purposes of decision-making, to the abstract, second-hand knowledge of academicians and policy-makers. It is here that his personal experience comes into play, setting him against the black establishment, which he sees as an adjunct of white liberalism, out of touch with the facts of black life—and especially the ordinary black man's capacity to make his own way.

Nothing enrages the black establishment like Sowell's sociological account of how it *got* established. In his view, it represents a thin layer of privileged blacks who have risen socially by echoing liberal ideology, with its view of blacks in general as helpless victims who depend on political favors for whatever gains they can make. He has gone so far as to argue that their lighter skins reflect a kind of class history of social climbing. Even some of his well-wishers find this a needlessly abrasive observation. But it is in keeping with his blunt realism.

What seems undeniable is Sowell's contention that the current black "leadership" is constituted more by a kind of diplomatic recognition from the lib-

eral media than by any mandate from blacks in general, who don't share the liberal orthodoxy on busing, affirmative action, and criminality. The media do, after all, give similar boosts to congenial "spokesmen" from other minorities—Catholics, Mormons, feminists. The more they subscribe to the liberal orthodoxy, the more they are exalted as independent-minded "dissenters" from the status quo and as voices of an emergent majority.

Time and again, Sowell has taken his empirical ball-and-crane to liberal mythology. He doesn't regard the market as "magic," nor does he denigrate the contribution of the civil-rights movement in removing legal barriers to black achievement. He simply rejects racism as a comprehensive explanation of the low economic status of blacks, and consequently denies that continued government action is the route to improvement. He likens using racism to explain poverty to using oxygen to explain burning buildings: racism, like oxygen, is too general. It's everywhere. Being ubiquitous, it fails to account for the achievements of Jews and Orientals, who have prospered in spite of it. And black teenage unemployment was only one-fifth as high in 1950 as it is today. Has legislation on balance helped or hurt blacks? Such questions, he says, must be formulated as "testable hypotheses," meaning measures can have only beneficial effects.

SOWELL LIKES to described his position as "anti-foregone conclusion." He is trying, above all, to break bad intellectual habits, and the real message of his books lies less in their conclusions than in their approach. "I'm amazed," he says, "at how many people regard facts as impediments at best, and red herrings at worst."

A splendid sampling of his thought is *Pink and Brown People*, a soon-to-be published collection of his short newspaper pieces. Here he writes in a colloquial vein, making his favorite points with wicked humor, playing the witty maverick against a world of pompous "spokesmen." —JOSEPH SOBRAN

individual," Sowell writes. "But however that might seem in the abstract, no one actually does that in real life, because costs of knowledge make it prohibitive."

Moral judgments, Sowell believes, are appropriate to the marketplace. But if they are substituted for an understanding of cause-and-effect relationships in employment, the result is likely to be a double loss for minorities: the first caused by discrimination itself and the second by misguided efforts that only worsen the conditions they are trying to improve. In Sowell's view, "the poor usually ended up preferring corrupt politicians, who understood them, to distant theorists, who did not."

An effective test of any given theory of ethnic and racial economic development is to ask whether it explains the differences and similarities among and within these groups. If discrimination is the most powerful explanatory variable, then there should be nearly uniform outcomes within the same minority group. Yet, for a long time, German Jews in America did better economically than Jews from Eastern Europe; blacks from the West Indies continue to have higher education and income than blacks from Africa; Chinese who immigrated from Hong Kong do worse than those who came earlier from another part of China; and so forth.

While some believe that only a strategy of political confrontation can bring progress for racial groups, Sowell shows that such a strategy has not yet proven successful for blacks, while groups like the Chinese and Japanese, who eschewed politics, have done quite well economically. Of course, as Sowell insists with exemplary fairness, how one judges progress depends on where one fixes the starting point. Those who have most recently arrived in this country, or have most recently been uprooted and subjected to drastic changes in social and living conditions—such as the changes entailed in the shift from rural to urban life—have had the most difficult time. Perhaps it is a tribute to the power of what used to be called the promise of American life that racial and ethnic groups who are barely into their second generation of urban life are expected not only to have surpassed their prior position economically, which they have surely done, but to have caught up with everyone else.

By the time he has finished, Sowell has considerably diminished the explanatory power of racial and ethnic background in accounting for economic differences among Americans. Yet who can say that Sowell is not right to look for the underlying "values and skills" that apparently enable some groups to cope better than others with economic conditions in the United States?

The weakness of *Ethnic America* is that it fails to follow its own advice and uses the concept of culture as a catch-all residual category. If "culture" is to be understood as something other than a name for things we don't understand, it must be treated like any other analytic construct. If by culture we mean shared values and the institutional practices these justify, then we must divide culture into categories. We must classify people and practices so that we can say something about the culture to which they belong and about the consequences for their behavior. We must show that different groups have strong or weak boundaries, are hierarchical or egalitarian, forbid or promote transactions with others, and so forth.

IT IS OFTEN said that one attribute that distinguishes economically strong from economically weak cultures is that individuals in the strong ones are willing to deprive themselves materially in the earlier stages of their economic development so that they and their successors may do better in the future. A culture in which units of people and time are thought of in linear succession, for instance, may promote the ability of its members to perceive benefits in terms of future time. Might not a culture stressing hierarchical relations be better able to appreciate the support of one generation by another in unbroken succession than a culture for which a more voluntary form of organization discourages one generation from exerting influence over the next? A fatalistic culture with weak boundaries, in which members live according to rules imposed by others, would also, by denigrating self-help, have a stultifying effect.

In sum, however, readers of these splendid books will be amply rewarded. They will learn much they did not know about ethnic and racial groups, but, equally important, they will have been helped to think more clearly by an exemplary teacher. □

Wayward Reporter: The Life of A. J. Liebling
By Raymond Sokolov
Harper & Row, 354 pp., \$16.95

GOOD LEGWORK, BAD WRITING

TERRY TEACHOUT

On the whole, the best thing about *Wayward Reporter*, Raymond Sokolov's biography of A. J. Liebling, is the publicity it has brought to bear on Liebling himself. Prior to the appearance of Sokolov's book, Liebling had slipped almost completely into obscurity, his writings out of print, remembered principally (if at all) as one of the assorted literary grotesques portrayed in Brendan Gill's *Here at the New Yorker*. Now Liebling is back in the bookstores again, represented by both *Wayward Reporter* and two newly issued volumes of his own Playboy's omnibus collection, *Liebling Abroad*, and Pantheon's hefty anthology, *The Press*. In the book business, at any rate, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is no fallacy.

Considered strictly on its own merits, however, *Wayward Reporter* is a gratifying mixture of good legwork and bad writing which, though by no means unreadable, would certainly have benefited from a great deal of rigorous editing. In writing his book, Sokolov seems to have worked into an otherwise straightforward (if cliché-ridden) reportorial style an excessively rich pastiche of Liebling's own Broadway rococo, with results that often cloy. His introduction, for example, contains the following capsule summary of Liebling's literary strategy: "By slumming in journalism, he could commit art on the q.t., sneak up on the reader, who only expected truth, but found he was getting beauty into the bargain." Should you like this kind of prose, *Wayward Reporter* will be your kind of book.

Moreover, Sokolov—writing from the viewpoint of an unabashed fan—is evidently incapable of putting Liebling's work into any sort of reasoned perspective; his idea of criticism consists of assuring us that, good as *Normandy Revisited* is, it really can't be said to have the scope of *Remembrance of*

RANDOM NOTES

■ **LAST OCTOBER TITLES:** Winston Churchill II, grandson of Sir Winston and himself an MP, warns in *Defending The West* (Arlington, \$14.95) of "the growing Soviet menace to freedom and world peace." He calls for rearmament on the part of NATO and Washington, where, in President Reagan, he appears to find promise of support.

Vichy France and the Jews (Basic, \$20), by Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, describes how the French under the Vichy regime instituted their own policies of antisemitic repression, anticipating by a considerable period of time orders from the Germans.

William Gerhardie's *God's Fifth Column: A Biography of the Age, 1890-1940* (Simon & Schuster, \$15.95) looks to be an extremely interesting book by a superior, but now little remembered, novelist. In Gerhardie's view, the history of the first half of the twentieth century is the history

of the depredations committed by politicians and other people of action imposing their destructive dreams on large populations. . . . Raymond Nelson is the author of *Van Wyck Brooks: A Writer's Life* (Dutton, \$21.75), the authorized biography of the once-formidable American literary historian. It should be well worth a glance. . . . P. G. Wodehouse: *A Literary Biography* (Rutledge, \$12.95), by Benny Green—a contributor to *Punch* and *The Nation*—is elegant, interesting, and astute. . . . Paul Ferris's *Richard Burton* (Coward, McCann, \$13.95) sounds as though it is relatively heavy on biography and light on celebrity chitchat. We haven't seen it, however.

Betty Friedan, who has produced only a single book to these twenty years since *The Feminine Mystique* was published, has labored to produce a sequel, *The Second Stage* (Summit, \$14.95). It was worth it. Twenty years' hard thought have provided the solution to all female complaints: abandon the single family and join a commune.

—CW

Things Past. This kind of partisanship detracts from the value of *Wayward Reporter* as a study of a long-under-rated author; and, since it is unlikely that another full-length book about Liebling will be written for some time to come, the inadequacies of the first attempt (which also fails to include an adequate checklist of Liebling's writings) matter ever more.

Being a good journalist, Sokolov knows the importance of research, and *Wayward Reporter* is full of detailed biographical information; but what Sokolov has done with this information is at times another story altogether. His treatment of Liebling's association with the Alger Hiss defense team is, to take the charitable view, ingenuous. While acknowledging that Liebling on his own initiative got in touch with Hiss's de-

fense lawyer Harold Rosenwald in 1948 and subsequently supplied him with information about Whittaker Chambers from Mark Van Doren, Malcolm Cowley, and Richard Simon—even making use of a *New Yorker* research assistant at one point—Sokolov nevertheless contends that it is a "smear" and a "slur" for historian Allen Weinstein to call Liebling an "advisor and tipster for Hiss's lawyers" (*Perjury*, p. 166). That, as E. B. White would say, just might be the neatest trick of the week.

The same tendency to pile up evidence and then ignore it emerges in Sokolov's lengthy discussion of Liebling's HUAC coverage; as always, Liebling's press criticism openly reflected what Sokolov calls his "left-liberal position," and in summing up one 1948 column Sokolov goes so far as to admit that

"the synopsis is indeed friendly to Hiss: it does not conclude that Hiss was lying, and it does try to impugn the motives of the Committee members." In the end, though, none of it really matters: "This is all surely advocacy," Sokolov concludes, "but it is not wrong, just as it is not wrong for Professor Weinstein, as a historian, to advocate, in seven hundred pages of 'objective,' scholarly prose, that Alger Hiss was guilty." One need not dig very deep to uncover the planted axioms beneath this remarkable analogy.

Fortunately, it is possible to skip over Sokolov's uncomfortable attempts to justify Liebling's occasionally rather dubious conduct as a journalistic watchdog, and simply read *Wayward Reporter* for the facts alone, since they're all here—the disastrous marriages to a schizophrenic and a narcissist, the embarrassed denial of his Jewish boyhood, the compulsive over-eating that led to his premature death at 59—and, in spite of everything, they make for surprisingly compelling reading. Though flawed, *Wayward Reporter* still provides a sympathetic and generally informative look at an exceptionally gifted author who (at his best) infused everyday journalism with the techniques of the great familiar essayists. Readers interested in the life behind the writings of A. J. Liebling will find it a qualified delight. □

Zuckerman Unbound
By Philip Roth

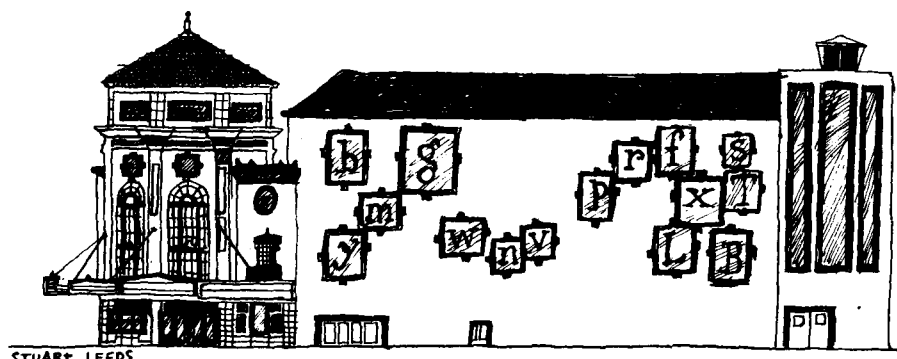
Farrar, 225 pp., \$10.95

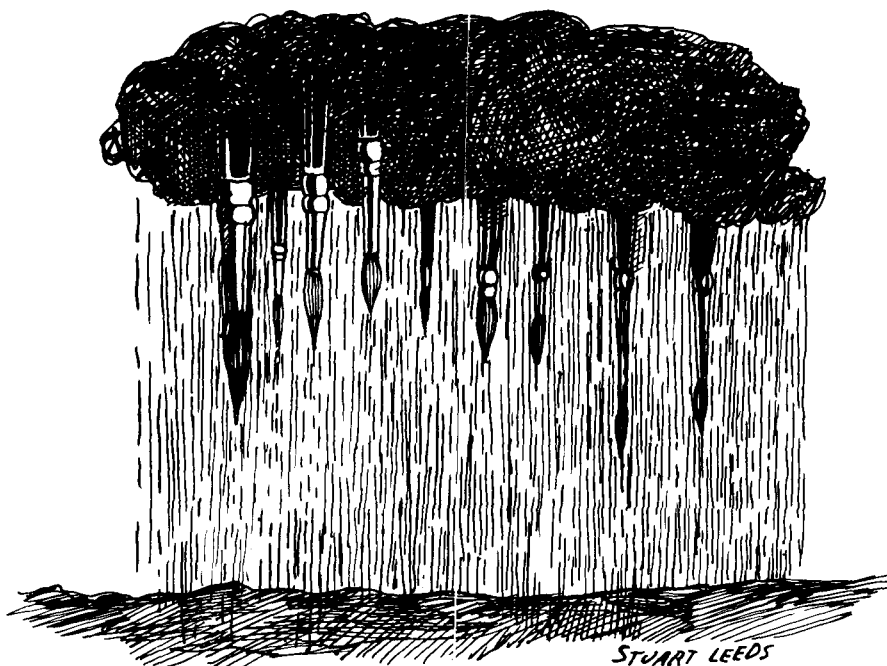
A JEWISH INVENTION

JEFFREY MEYERS

The decline of Fitzgerald and Hemingway, the unfulfilled promise and wasted talent of Ralph Ellison and Norman Mailer, the suicides of other best-selling novelists (chronicled in Leggatt's *Ross and Tom*), warn how American authors have been destroyed by the genies of inflated success. In *The Green Hills of Africa* Hemingway knowingly explained what threatens and traps the modern writer: "Politics, women, drink, money, ambition. And the lack of politics, women, drink, money, and ambition."

Roth's Zuckerman—a poor Prometheus who brings sperm rather than fire





to mankind—is a self-pitying “misunderstood millionaire.” He suffered first from indifference and then from attention, and now he despairs over the fiasco of his instant fame and fortune as a writer. The accusations that he has betrayed his religion and exposed his parents, friends, and lovers lead to an identity crisis and a flight from his public persona.

He attempts to recover his old self by quoting Henry James: “All this is far from being life as I feel it, as I see it, as I know it, as I wish to know it,” and by retaining his old habits. He rides on buses, eats in delicatessens, wears old clothes, lives in an empty flat, does his own laundry, buys his own food—and is berated for this by the sleek agent who has propelled him into the world of superstars. The novel has the same theme, the same familiar narcissism, and the same “dangers in writing so closely on the heels of one’s own immediate experience” as Woody Allen’s last film, *Stardust Memories* (the scene in Elaine’s matches the opening of *Manhattan*.) And Roth defends *Portnoy’s Complaint* in this book, as Styron justified *Nat Turner* in *Sophie’s Choice*.

Zuckerman’s crisis is intensified by fallout from his leaving his all-too-virtuous third wife and by persecution by his double—a common theme in Hoffmann, Poe, and Dostoyevsky. Alvin Pepler, a star contestant wiped out by a rigged quiz show (a parallel to Zuckerman’s meretricious fame), claims the writer has stolen his onanistic life story. He threatens to kidnap Zuckerman’s

mother—to transform Zuckerman’s guilt into his own aggression.

Zuckerman attempts to assuage what Stephen Dedalus calls the “agenbite of inwit” and “to become himself again” by explaining the explosive origin of the universe to the moribund man whose microcosmic discharge first shot him into the world. But when he tries to ignore the ambiguous curse of his father, his brother (echoing Pepler) screams: “You killed him, Nathan. With that book. . . . What you write about people has *real consequences*.” Finally, Zuckerman takes an armed limousine to the Newark of his childhood, where he discovers that not only is he no longer a son, husband, brother—he does not “come from anywhere anymore, either.” Pepler’s harsh reality—“Newark is a nigger with a knife! Newark is a whore with the syph!”—has prevailed over his sentimental memories. Zuckerman is left to remake his two selves from nothing.

THE SAGGING style, lame puns (“talk show de Tocquevilles”), forced analogies (“the sun made its presence known to Zuckerman as no Yahweh ever had”), and thin content of this unrealized “good bad book” are bolstered by pretentious quotations from Kierkegaard, Chekhov, Kafka, and (covertly) Hitler, who said that “conscience is a Jewish invention.” And the transparent plot is stretched like a membrane over a series of melodramatic scenes and stereotyped characters: good wife, devoted mother, noble father, mad *Doppelgänger*, and glamorous lover.

The lover, Caesara O’Shea (Clair Bloom?), who once played Anne Frank on stage (echoes of *The Ghost Writer*) is composed of Irish clichés: her father drank whisky and beat his wife, and she exclaims: “I wasn’t raised to get rich of children. I was raised to be their mother. Either that or a nun.” Zuckerman meets her at a party where she is dressed in veils and feathers, takes her to a smart restaurant, is invited to spend the night in her penthouse suite—and is (absurdly) abandoned for Fide Castro. Roth describes the actress in a poor pastiche of the early Fitzgerald (“He admired that walk. Under the gaze of all those stargazers it was true dramatic achievement”) and the late Hemingway (“the only hotel in the world where she truly enjoyed awakening in the morning was the Cipriani” in Torcello.). This is a curiously flat and whining book by a writer best known for his style and wit. □

German Romantic Painting

By William Vaughan

Yale, 259 pp., \$4.

SUBCONSCIOUS STATES

RUTH BERENSON

This book fills a real need, for to all intents and purposes it is the first treatment in English of the German art of the early half of the nineteenth century to appear since the turn of this century. Unlike most such gap-fillers, it is not just a compilation of facts and dates; but a gracefully written, insightful treatment of a topic about which the author, a reader in art history at University College, London, is both enthusiastic and knowledgeable; more, he is able to communicate the excitement he feels to those neophyte readers—and they will doubtless constitute a majority—who approach the subject as virgin territory.

Vaughan logically begins his narrative with the astonishing picture that so unnerved its first viewers when it was unveiled in Dresden in 1808 and which even today stuns those seeing it for the first time: Caspar David Friedrich’s *Cross in the Mountains*. It shows a golden crucifix on a fir-topped peak silhouetted against the rays of a setting

sun; its frame, carved and gilded, is in the form of two palm trees coming together to form a Gothic arch. Despite its subject (which was far from new: wayside crucifixes were common props in Dutch seventeenth century art), the picture was not a landscape but an altarpiece painted for a private chapel, and as such it struck many viewers as rank sacrilege for showing a crucifix rather than the Crucifixion. They were hardly mollified by Friedrich's explanation that every element in the composition carried symbolic meaning: the sun as God the Father, the evergreens and ivy as images of Faith and Hope, the gilding on the crucifix to keep bright the image of the mortals struggling up the rocky slope to achieve Redemption.

Yet with this picture, permeated with the mystical view of nature and the profoundly Christian world view that marked much of the literature of the period, German artistic Romanticism came into full flower. And as this book makes abundantly clear, it produced a series of painters who, though they had little or nothing in common with their French or English counterparts, produced much that, as the author puts it, with typical British understatement, "is extremely beautiful and of great interest."

Mr. Vaughan's book covers the first half of the century, from Friedrich to Alfred Rethel. Though German art was thoroughly imbued with Romanticism in those years, one might—and this writer feels bound to—question his inclusion under that rubric of many so-called Biedermeier painters and also of Adolph Menzel, the most gifted but by no means the only artist of the 1840s whose strong commitment to an unvarnished Realism clearly sets them apart from the mystical early Romantics as well as the later ones, with their sentimental nostalgia for the past. Indeed, a Realist strain, unrecognized not only by Mr. Vaughan but by many German writers, seems to have coexisted along with Romanticism almost from the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was strongly condemned by the critics of the time but enthusiastically welcomed by the growing middle-class public, and after the 1850s it dominated German taste.

Even so, Romanticism never really died; as Vaughan points out in his Epilogue, during the 1870s and '80s the Swiss-German Arnold Böcklin, a precursor of European Symbolism, ex-

plored "the ability of nature to arouse subconscious states in man," just as Friedrich, in his way, had done; and he notes the close affinity, already demonstrated by Robert Rosenblum in his *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition*, between the early German Romantics and such twentieth century artists as Edvard Munch, Emil Nolde, Ernst Barlach, and others. Yet, as he declares, "it will not do to evaluate the Romantics primarily in terms of their influence . . . [for] their art belongs to a different world and possesses an identity of its own." As he amply demonstrates, they have their own intrinsic merits which make them worthy of comparison with the best of their more familiar contemporaries. □

FILM

INSTITUTIONALIZED AMBIVALENCE

JOHN SIMON

Prince of the City poses fascinating artistic and moral questions, even if it is a film that leaves you ultimately dissatisfied. Out of its 167 minutes' running time, I got about forty of genuine absorption, ninety of mounting exasperation shot through with sporadic jolts of involvement, and 37 of wishing it were over and done with. Twenty to 30 per cent of the dialogue I either could not make out or could not fathom, what with mush-mouthed or machine-gun delivery, or outlandish events that escaped me or made no sense to me, so that I dearly wished for a freeze frame, instant replay, or subtitles.

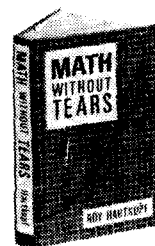
Yet *Prince of the City* is well worth seeing because there is so much—too much—for the eyes, ears, and mind to sop up, to be tantalized but not (until toward the end) bored by, and to walk away from wrapped in speculation. Based on Robert Daley's book about Robert Leuci, a detective in the Special Investigative Unit (SIU) of the Narcotics Division who turned star witness for the Knapp Commission, the screenplay by Jay Presson Allen and the director, Sidney Lumet, focuses on Danny Ciello (the Leuci character), but takes in, in ever-widening circles, scores of characters on either side of the law—and often

on both sides at once—as the investigation of police corruption proceeds. Ciello, wired for sound, becomes a human tape recorder moving—at great peril and sometimes within inches of being murdered—through a miasma of crooked cops, crooked lawyers, police spies, double agents, pushers, and mobsters of every denomination, and bringing back the jungle on tape.

Ciello demands immunity for two groups only: his family (there are Mafia connections) and his partners (four men with whom he committed not a few crimes—taking dope or money from pushers, giving dope to stoolies in exchange for information, accepting a little flesh from hookers), who are even more sacred to him than his family. This is granted him, but as the investigation drags on and things get thicker and stickier, Santimassimo, an arrogant and merciless Washington bigshot, forces Ciello's hand. Danny has testified under oath that in 11 years with SIU he committed only three felonies; it gradually emerges that he has committed over forty, including, now, perjury. In extreme anguish, Danny talks on, causes the murder of his Mafia cousin, rats on his partners, and drives one of them to suicide. Though he is ultimately cleared legally after a stormy session among the numerous investigators in the case, he will be a marked, tormented man; kept on the force as an instructor, he will be shunned by many of his colleagues.

That is the framework or the plot, yet this gradual enmeshment of Danny in the truth and its consequences is less gripping than other aspects of the film. This may be the fault of his not being a rich enough character, or not being examined penetratingly enough by the script. Then again, though Treat Williams plays him convincingly in various stages of swagger and deflation, when

MATH WITHOUT TEARS



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Danny hits the rock bottom of despair and self-hatred, Williams becomes too palpably histrionic, or perhaps over-directed by the less than subtle Lumet. Enormously interesting, however, are certain scenes from the world of addicts, informers, mobsters, law enforcers (and benders) high and low, and their complex and disturbing interaction. There are quixotic loyalties and flamboyant breaches of loyalty here, bizarre ties and tergiversations, honor among thieves and dishonor among the righteous, and vast grey areas in which morality flip-flops like a fish out of water.

Much of this long film consists of very short scenes that do not explain motivation, merely allow some paradox to assert itself. Tough Danny is moved to pity by an addict's agony; a Mafioso relative feels a strange mixture of pride, contempt, and sadness gazing at Danny; Danny crumples when a drug dealer spits at him and a DA does not come to his defense; Danny's wife weeps when the house she has always been dreaming of is ironically offered her and her family as a temporary hideout from would-be assassins in and out of uniform. Danny is debarred from a family funeral that he indirectly caused, while his scapegrace brother is admitted and looks at him with stinging condescension. Danny's backup men bungle things repeatedly, and all but cause his death. A crime overlord tells the substantial truth about Danny, which could undo him, but because of technicalities, the lie detector registers it as lies. And so on.

What emerges from all this—slowly, clumsily, often irritatingly but with insidious power—is the paired set of questions with which I began. The moral

questions: Can we buy our safety from policemen who feel entitled to lesser but undeniable crimes they perceive as just rewards for risking their lives? Are they justified in their perception? Are they finicky, self-righteous lawmen in safe, high places entitled to invoke the letter of the law against SIU men in constant mortal danger? Is a shady compromise too great a price to pay for partial justice, relative abatement of crime?

AND THE artistic questions: How does a filmmaker present a hero who is both good and bad without making the duality appear schematic, mechanistic, oversimplified? How does the filmmaker avoid cheating by making his queasy, questionable heroes too sympathetic? Thus when a compromised cop roughs up and then overturns a desk on an intransigently puristic DA, should the scene make the moviegoers cheer, as it and similar ones did the night I attended? Or is that reaction inevitable, given the widespread loathing for lily-white law enforcers and the concomitant love for the tarnished cop, our *semblable*, our *frère*?

For raising such questions—wasted though they seemed to be on the audience around me—*Prince of the City* must be saluted. But not for leaving all questions a little too studiously open, for too complacently avoiding the semblance of an answer. Lumet is a curious director, capable of moments of touching simplicity, but exacting for every one such moment at least three in which he hits us over the head. Still, he is to be congratulated for assembling a cast of unknowns and little-knowns ranging

from good to extraordinary. Only the usually fine Lindsay Crouse is unpersuasive as Danny's wife—too upper-class; and the usually bad Bob Balaban is wretched as Santimassimo—too affected, prissy, puny for a man of such power.

The cinematography by Andrzej Bartkowiak is a mixed blessing: deliberately overexposed or otherwise bathed in darkness or frowziness, its over insistence on artlessness becomes arty. Moreover, Lumet's mania for picturesque New York locations is often, but with less justification, as unreal as a blue horse by Franz Marc. But Paul Chiara's electronic music—sparing, eerie, frequently no more than an ululation—does convey some sort of cosmic woe, and the art direction, set decoration, and costuming couldn't be more on target. We need this flawed film—if only to be able to think back on it. □

ART

PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION

RICHARD BROOKHISER

China (the free one) has many things worth seeing, but one thing worth going half way around the world to see: the National Palace Museum just outside Taipei—simply the finest display of Chinese art in existence. The collection is huge—over 600,000 pieces; the museum, thankfully, is not. Every three months the exhibits in its four comfortably sized stories are rotated. It takes ten years to show everything. But the Chinese are patient; after all, they've been assembling the collection for a millennium.

Most of the museum's art comes from the old imperial collection (hence the "palace" in the name). The first emperor of the Sung dynasty was a dedicated patron, and his brother established a gallery in A.D. 979. Successive emperors commissioned new pieces and sought out old ones. When the Empire collapsed in 1911, the Republic inherited the country and the art. The Nationalists ultimately lost the country, but kept the art out of the clutches of the Japanese and the Communists. (One can imagine what



might have happened to such a trove during the Cultural Revolution; probably been trashed for a morning's amusement.) In 1965, the present museum opened its doors.

Perhaps the first thing that strikes a Western visitor is the unfamiliar, not to say unlikely, art forms. Chinese calligraphy is a major art, no less articulated than painting or poetry (Chinese paintings often have poems written in the corners, fusing three forms in one). "Like a good painter," explains one leaflet, "a competent calligrapher maintains a high level of quality in all his work, but artistic inspiration is required for a masterpiece. . . . General Yueh Fei was an accomplished calligrapher, but his great work was not done until he had been betrayed and the emperor came to suspect his loyalty. To find an emotional outlet, he turned to his calligraphy and copied the *Report to the Emperor before an Expedition* by Chu-ke Liang, a statesman-strategist during the days of the Three Kingdoms. His own plight resembled Chu-ke's in some ways, and he put his heart into the calligraphy. It is said that every line is alive with his tears." Connoisseurs, the pamphlet goes on, are still moved to tears by the General's brush-work. Though most of this is necessarily lost on people who cannot read Chinese, and who miss thereby whatever interplay there may be between the execution and the text, the characters—some slim and delicate, some dark and swirling—still exercise a hypnotic effect.

Ceramics, again, when they appear in Western museums at all, are often relegated to the connecting halls. Not so in Taipei, and for good reason. Porcelain ultimately became an export industry, and some of the later pieces are gaudy and decadent. But the Tang and Sung dynasties produced vases, dishes, and cups of astonishing simplicity and beauty. And rarity. Sung *ju* ware was glazed in a color that can be called "buff"—if sunsets can be called "pink." The Chinese term was "sky-clearing blue." There are thirty-some pieces of it still in existence, and the National Palace Museum has 23 of them.

Once the Westerner has done a little assimilating, the next thing he will notice is the seemingly inexhaustible whimsy of Chinese art. One of the prizes of the museum is a jade cabbage. The jade was selected so that the cabbage changes color from white at the base to green in the leaves. On the leaves sit two nib-

bling grasshoppers. Another jade piece: an inkstand in the shape of a carp. Its body is white, the tips of its fins and tail brown. A small dragon, which looks more like a newt, tickles its belly. A white agate bat clings to a red agate peach branch. You know the branch is peach because a red agate peach hangs from it.

Sometimes the whimsy can only be called heroic. An ivory carver decided to turn an elephant's tusk into a pagoda. Seventy-five years later, his grandson finished the job. On each floor of the pagoda, behind elaborate screens, a buddha has been carved—carved in place, not inserted afterwards. And yes, all the buddhas have different expressions. A peach pit has been turned into a boat. Looking through a magnifying glass, you can see that the boat has passengers, sliding doors, and rippling pennons. A series of birch cups, from thimble size to tumbler, fit one inside the other. Unfortunately, 21 of them have been lost. Only 79 remain.

YOU WILL BE told by the catalogues and guidebooks that the greatest treasures of classical Chinese art are the Shang bronzes. These artifacts—most of them ceremonial wine vessels—date from 17 centuries before Christ, and they are the opposite of whimsical—rugged, heavy, their surfaces dense with intricate patterns in jagged relief. I have to take the Chinese at their word; the Shang bronzes do nothing for me. For my taste, the soul of the museum, and of Chinese art, is its painting.

And here, where Chinese art shows itself at its greatest, a Westerner will feel most acutely what he cannot help thinking of as a lack—and that is the absence of people. The vast majority of paintings in the National Palace Museum are nature pieces, from panoramas down to sprigs of bamboo (there was even a school of artists who painted nothing but bamboo). Human figures are often visible—a scholar in a house, gazing at a view; a row of travelers in a defile; windblown peasants caught in a rainstorm. But they are glosses on the landscape, merely: awed or surprised by it; subsumed in it. It occurred to me that perhaps the most important human figure in a Chinese painting is in fact yourself, the observer for whom these scenes have been spread out. But in that case, the process repeats itself by analogy—real nature being to us what painted nature is to our painted (and

subordinate) counterparts. The true subject of Chinese portraiture is the universe.

I hesitate to say this, because some Westerners, who obviously don't know a piece of *ju* ware from a jam jar, belittle Chinese art for this reason. Still, it is a fact that there is a missing element of humanity (and hence, of drama): no crucifixions or nativities; nothing like *David*, or *The Burgheers of Calais*. I do not say it to belittle; aesthetics is probably the only area in which it makes sense to say that a billion people can't be wrong. I drop the observation in the laps of the cultural philosophers; and offer it as a tip to anyone lucky enough to go to the National Palace Museum, the better to enjoy the riches that are there. □

The GIMLET EYE

ATLANTIC CITY REVISITED

D. KEITH MANO

"You may not like hookers, but when they go—man, that means you've passed away." I quote, with my own permission, from a rather unprophetic Gimlet Eye. That was *NR*, February 6, 1976 B.G. (Before Gambling), and Atlantic City looked to me like the protagonist of some sodden funeral. Back then bandits were young and had more than one arm. Crime, unemployment, ultra-drab: in 1976 when you built your house on Ventnor Avenue, Parker Bros. should've given out a little green wooden German shepherd to guard it. Even the ocean seemed unseaworthy: waves didn't break,

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they fell apart. "AC is a relic," I wrote, "an urban resort, probably our last." But AC beat the long point-spread. Now a local paper is running this scare-head: SEX AND THE CASINOS. Inside, afraid that Mafiosi might Monopolize another small business, an editorial will pimp for legalized prostitution. Yass'm, the whores are back in AC. Enticed by that most sensual soft part of a man: his Louis Vuitton billfold.

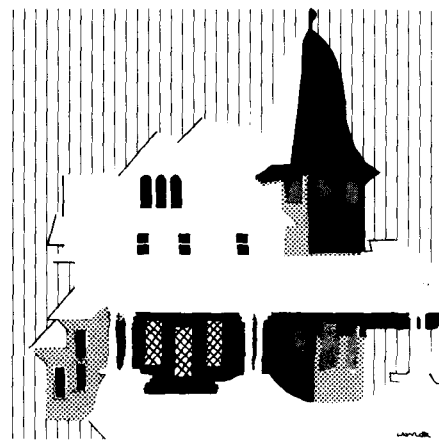
AC hasn't changed: it's been capped. I wrote in 1976: "Tourists just pass through, men and women momentarily released from time. The indigenous peoples are teased by an air of freedom. . . . It's a party the town will never crash." That, I suspect, might still hold. Sure: seven casinos have advanced to Boardwalk, but behind them you see the same grim clapboard jungle: each house dreary as an ironing-board cover. The desolate Million Dollar Pier seems to have been brought in way under budget. Disrepair is convening at Convention Hall: someday Miss America will get crowned by a fallen roof tile. And there are few children: children can't cover a decent bet. AC isn't family. Yet Governor Byrne, whose mind has all the scenic overlook of an Exxon tank farm, will remain serene: yes, crime is up in AC, "but five years ago there was nothing to steal."

Gambling in Atlantic City has a crossbred style: half Côte d'Azur (for *bon ton*) and half 1870s American West (for recklessness). Prince Rainier dancing with Grace Kelly in *High Noon*. It comes off more *farmisht* than urbane: vinyl steamboat Gothic sort of. Whatever, this is meant to disorient the untrusting East Coast mind: particularly the feminine mind. Around New York or Philadelphia, gambling is still associated with two unpleasant traits: guilty maleness and illegal sleaze—wire room, basement poker game, numbers drop. AC will prosper only if wife/girl-friend can feel secure and socially escalated there. So you dress at roulette the way you would at some semi-formal occasion: a divorce-court appearance perhaps. For women, gambling must be related by decor and demeanor to wealth. To those who can afford careless bets, cocaine, a game of celebrity lingam-swapping—and the lawyer who'll get them off if caught. AC is a stud making it as a gigolo. With his USC class ring still on.

Cash can have a terrible intimacy: I'd rather show frontal nudity than my

savings bankbook. The staff at AC—dealer, guard, cocktail waitress, croupier—have seen us at our close-stool worst: drunk on avarice, made stiff by fright, broken down. They just nod. They pass over me like people in a glass-bottomed boat: with some interest and more detachment. On each immaculate lapel or boiled shirt bosom you note an ID tag and photograph: but no first name. The clientele mustn't presume acquaintance. They are here to teach us gambling deportment: I feel, after a single day, like the Noel Coward character of whom it was said, *summa cum British laude*, that never in thirty years had he embarrassed his valet. Yet, still, yet: you can sense institutional fear. Pit bosses are watching them. One misdealt card, one misstacked chip and the Big Heat is on. They wear mental fatigues: I can sympathize. GAMBLING may MEAN JOBS, but my blackjack dealer is paid not much more than the minimum wage. They depend, this huge liveried household, on a tip here, a tip there. And losers don't tip. The matter of fact is: they hope you'll beat New Jersey, drain the Passaic River, sack Hoboken. But, hour on hour, like lovers bundling in steel, my dealer and I pretend not to want each other.

Once, long enough ago, I would've bet on anything that moved: man, if it wasn't dead-down inert I gave odds. With some luck I might've been a compulsive gambler today. But not here: not against this house and its blister-packaged ambience. Oh, an hour or two can be amusing, a whole day obsessive—but beyond that I'd rather hook rugs. My wife has dropped her first Susan B. Anthony into a slot machine: cha-changa-chash, and one hundred shiver out like fingerling minnows. (How can a *dumb machine know you're fresh and ready to be hustled?*) We win, then



lose, \$500 on slots before dinner. Think of the effort: reach and pull, reach and pull: one thousand people signalling to get off a Madison Avenue bus that won't stop.

After dinner we sit for blackjack: you lose more slowly there and don't get bursitis at it: By 3 A.M. I'm a hundred ahead and flat bored. I mean, where's the percentage? Only a professional card counter can win big at AC: and that would require dedication somewhat more demanding than the priesthood.

They figure it in: my impatience. The house will depend on a casual tourist, for whom this Princess Telephone elegance is winning enough. I can't be bothered. So I push all my chips on one deal: 18 for me, 19 for the house. My dealer is sad: a paramour lost after half the night's wooing. He and I, well, it would never have worked out.

I'll take the old Atlantic City: it had honest rot. Here even conception is at hazard. A maternity store will offer \$500 off if you give birth on some 15-to-1-shot day. Then in small print I read: "This offer void for induced or Caesarean births." The house just won't let you have an edge. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

JEFFERSON DAVIS GETS HIS CITIZENSHIP BACK, by Robert Penn Warren (University Press of Kentucky, 114 pp., \$8.95). Here, preserved for those who would like it in more permanent form, is an essay that originally appeared in *The New Yorker* last year. No more than a meditation, it is nevertheless a graceful, nostalgic piece of work. Blended with the poet's childhood memories of the South at the turn of the century are a few biographical details of the first and only president of the Confederacy, as well as a few words on the 1979 restoration of his citizenship. Warren concludes that Davis would probably not have accepted it, as he did not accept the suggestion that he ask President Andrew Johnson for a pardon: he felt he had done no wrong. Davis, the "Sphinx of the South," remains one of the enigmatic figures of the Civil War, although Clement Eaton's 1977 biography did much to present the man's outer life. Jefferson Finis Davis, so named because he was the last of ten children, was aristocratic in bearing, and no politician. Yet he believed in that most democratic ideal, the sovereign state. The former fact, as much as the latter, contributed to the dissolution of the Confederacy. By way of cracking the stern visage he later wore,

Warren provides a few anecdotes of the young Davis—an accomplished dancer as well as a hothead who did not think twice about challenging a man to a duel. Davis distinguished himself as a soldier in the Mexican War. He was President Buchanan's Secretary of War, and was responsible for the experimental camel corps. Imprisoned and harshly treated at the conclusion of the Civil War, he longed for a trial where he could mount a rousing defense, a trial which he was not to have the satisfaction of getting. Northern vindictiveness quickly gave way to sympathy and even respect, with many former abolitionists, most notably Horace Greeley, signing his bail bond. Ultimately, his only punishment was being disfranchised. He retired to a plantation and wrote his history of the C.S.A., which was archivistic and widely unread. In his later years he was triumphant, hailed throughout the South as a heroic relic, perhaps the last Jeffersonian democrat in America. Robert Penn Warren does him justice in this little book, written with keen understanding and a precisely felicitous tone.

JOE MYSAK

JAMES BOND IN THE CINEMA, by John Brosnan (Barnes/Tantivy, 309 pp., \$12.95). I have waited a long time to read a good, solid book of criticism on the James Bond phenomenon, and from the looks of this one I'm going to be waiting a bit longer. *James Bond in the Cinema* simply does not deliver what it promises and that is a shame, because this field is a rich vein which has so far gone unworked. I opened this book in eager anticipation that Mr. Brosnan had done for the film Bond what Kingsley Amis had done for the literary Bond in his superb *The James Bond Dossier*; what I got instead was plot recapitulation and trivia. Mr. Brosnan fails to explain Bond's steady box-office durability after two decades, in a chapter in which he is supposed to be doing just that. We learn nothing here of Bond's role as a mythic or archetypal figure, and how this may have contributed to his present position in the pantheon of popular culture gods. The book is also atrociously edited. On one page, Bond is being chased through the "Louisiana bayous," on the next page, he is being pursued through the "bayous of Florida"; in another place, Mr. Brosnan cannot decide if a Russian agent's name is Amisova or Asimova; whether or not the heroine of *Doctor No* is named Honey Rider or Wilder. The book is not a total loss, however. Mr. Brosnan is possessed of a fine critical wit and he often uses it to devastating effect, especially with regard to hapless Roger Moore. (Referring to a wax figure of Moore/Bond in the villainous Scaramanga's shooting gallery, he says, "Roger Moore is one of the few actors who looks as lifelike as a wax dum-

Dark Horses



CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

I CAN REMEMBER sitting in a United DC-8 a couple of years ago, drinking beer twenty thousand feet above Rock Springs, Wyoming and reading a *Newsweek* column written by George F. Will. The column was about the Sagebrush Rebellion, and at the time it made me very mad.

The Sagebrush Rebellion is a political assault by the Western states upon the Federal Government, which owns great tracts of land in the West; the Western legislatures, governors, and various interests now want that land ceded to them, and George Will was against this. Since his column appeared, a Western governor has made it to the White House and named a Sagebrush rebel as Secretary of the Interior. Also since that time, I have come to agree more with Will's position than with that of the Sagebrush crowd. It is my observation that many Westerners have similarly changed their minds.

Nevertheless, I read with sympathy, if not wholehearted agreement, a very interesting book called *Bureaucracy v. Environment: The Environmental Costs of Bureaucratic Government* (University of Michigan, \$15), edited by John Baden and Richard L. Stroup, both of Montana State University. It is a collection of retouched articles presented as lectures at a conference in Big Sky, Montana, sponsored by the Liberty Fund. Collectively, they are a telling indictment of public control over natural resources.

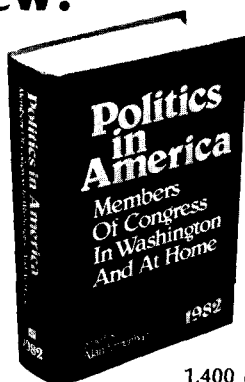
"We are increasingly convinced," the editors write, "that both the environmental and economic costs of bureaucratic management of natural resources are excessively and unnecessarily high." Baden and Stroup agree that the private market will not efficiently make use of natural resources as long as they are within the common pool of public goods, and that "great social benefits can *potentially* be generated via the imposition of government regulation and control." Yet they are convinced that in many instances reductions in environmental quality are "generated by the

positive action of governmental agencies." Their contributors discuss a number of these instances, in which the ambition of bureaucrats to expand their powers and purviews has led directly to economic disaster and environmental degradation. "A major implication of these essays," the editors suggest, "may be startling to some but becomes clear when carefully considered: there is a potential natural coalition made up of environmentalists and those oriented toward free-market economics."

Most of these pieces describe environmentally destructive practices which supposedly would not have occurred had the agencies perpetrating them been required to meet minimum standards of economic efficiency. Among these practices are the chaining of Western piñon and juniper forests by the Forest Service, destructive grazing methods devised by the smug and infuriating Federal Bureau of Land Management, wasteful and destructive dam building, subsidized synfuel programs that amount to economic and environmental crimes, and various regulatory strategies that encourage the waste and destruction they were intended to prevent. As M. Bruce Johnson, summing up, writes, "the evidence suggests that, traditional issues aside, governmental ownership or control has produced non-market environmental costs rather than benefits on balance."

WELL AND GOOD. And yet here and there we get an admission that private ownership would not provide many desirable public benefits, such as wildlife conservation and watershed protection. Also, if federal ownership does nothing else, it prevents land from being released for development until it is needed. The authors believe that what are wanted are better-defined and better-enforced property rights. In theory their argument is attractive. Still, I must conclude that, to paraphrase the editors, great social benefits can *potentially* be generated by increased privatization of land and resources. □

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ny as he does in reality . . .") Treating each film separately, Mr. Brosnan leisurely recounts the plot, while along the way explaining how much a certain set cost or how a particular special effect was achieved. These asides are by far the most interesting things in the book and, on this level, it is certainly entertaining enough, but don't go looking for real criticism.

JOHN A. BARNES

BUCKLEY

(Continued from page 1209)

an idea of what this . . . could signify." (One can't help but sympathize: ten years more of *Little House on the Prairie*?)

The point is that everything, absolutely everything once so sacred to the Spaniard—faith, nation, family; their symbols, cross and Church, the flag, sexual discipline—is everywhere under continual denigration and relentless attack. Democracy has just about brought Spain down.

The Spaniard as an individual has always loved and honored, in almost equal measure, moral authority and personal freedom. Politically he has never been able to yoke the first to the second and drive them in tandem. One always seems to pull stronger than the other. Moral authority transmogrifies into authoritarianism (Church or State), freedom into anarchy and licentiousness. Luis Calvo may be an old geezer, but he has some acerbic words for his country. "What [species] of democracy is this . . . ?" he asks. "It doesn't make sense. Spain makes no sense. The separatism can't be explained. It's not possible to have a Castille the New and a Castille the Old, both autonomous. . . . We repeat to ourselves continuously 'Now we are free!' . . . I always was. I don't have a single liberty today that I didn't possess before. [Here he is carried away; under Franco he had nugatory political liberty; today he is free to choose between the Socialist Party and incompetence.] You know who feels free? The switchbladers [*navajeros*]. They, yes! absolutely free, yes sir. The switchbladers, whores, and homos."

It's too bad. Spain, like her neighbor, Portugal, is partly a victim of the Porfirio Diaz disease. Franco held on a decade too long. He was a waxworks mummy five years before his demise. So much might have been accomplished politically in the hopeful early Sixties. The prognosis today can't be else than that the failed military coup of this past

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (signed)
Edward A. Capano.

February 23 won't be the last attempt at a putsch. I grieve for the Spanish character, which over a quarter of a century I came to esteem so ardently. That Democracy has transformed the Spaniard into a rude, crude, lubricious boor is bad enough. That it has made him fearful and that it has clipped the wings of his imagination is worse. But what I cannot forgive Democracy is that it has made him dull. □

LETTERS

(Continued from page 1144)

Uncommon English Law

Brian Crozier's Union Jack is showing ["Reflections on Violence," June 12]. Under the guise of condemning terrorism he makes a plea for the legitimacy of British control of the six northeastern counties of Ireland. Claiming that there are no political prisoners in the allegedly United Kingdom, he echoes Maggie Thatcher's "a crime is a crime is a crime." Thus he implies that Westminster is competent to proscribe certain acts in Ireland as crimes and asserts that Bobby Sands was just a common criminal. He thereby ignores the fact that, unlike your common English prisoner tried under common English law for carrying an unloaded gun, Bobby Sands received a sentence of 14 years after trial without jury in one of the notorious and political Diplock courts. Such treatment, granting the disadvantages and withholding the advantages of political status, is reserved only for unruly Irishmen protesting England's presence in its first and, for practical purposes, last colony.

Mr. Crozier, in disappointing majoritarian and democratist fashion, proposes the "Ulster" ballot box as the proper outlet for Republican sentiment. Thus he endorses the 1920 English gerrymander establishing the Unionists as the majority in those six of the nine counties of Ulster over which Britain chose to retain control.

Mr. Crozier's talents would be put to better use if, instead of defending and encouraging British colonial pretensions, he urged Mrs. Thatcher's government to acknowledge the legitimate rights of the Irish and work for a just solution to the problem caused by British colonialism. Then Marxist influence in Ireland would decline and the British Army of the Rhine, relieved of police duty in this allegedly integral part of the UK, could go back to guarding the Fulda Gap against the real enemy in the East.

Joseph J. Hester
Bronx, N.Y.

Mr. Crozier reflects upon the points Mr. Hester raises in his column for this issue, page 1187.

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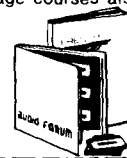
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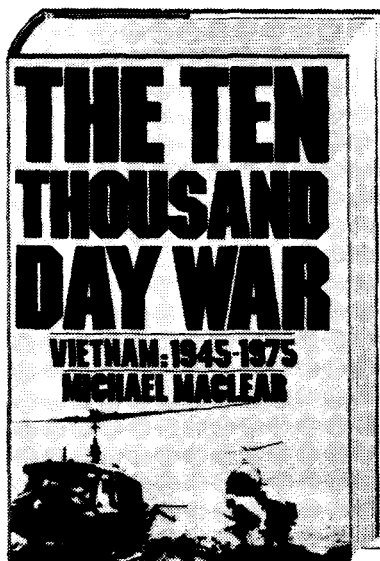
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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

LEONARD READ:

Statism and Goodness

The same person, to whom stealing a penny from a millionaire would be unthinkable, will join in taking billions from everybody, including the poor, to aid and abet his private gain or his personal compassion for those he cannot or will not help with his own resources.

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a word edgewise

from An Old Liberal Cold Warrior

JOHN P. ROCHE

POISH 'REVISIONISM'

have put the Soviet Politburo into shock. There on TV you could see it, the ultimate heresy: the Communist Party cadres were fraternizing with the workers and peasants.

Instead of a great military parade with Marxist-Leninist jets, tanks, missiles, and disciplined ranks moving before the leaders in their reviewing stand, an undifferentiated rabble of Party functionaries, members, farmers, and Solidarity militants ambled through Warsaw. There was not, as Soviet enforcer Mikhail Suslov must have noted, a picture of Lenin to be seen.

One steeped in Leninism can almost hear him raving from his mausoleum in Moscow: "Liquidationists, economists, tailists— they must be ruthlessly destroyed, utterly extirpated." The East Germans must be wondering why in a moment of ideological myopia they featured Rosa Luxemburg—Lenin's enemy—on their stamps: from her grave she must be enjoying the spontaneous unity of the Polish urban and rural masses.

Without offering a seminar in Marxism-Leninism it is worth noting that from roughly 1890 on, Lenin fought savagely against anything that smacked of "spontaneity." The Leninist party was a vanguard, a military cadre which took its orders from the "center" and never allowed itself to be carried away by the ephemeral passions of the masses.

A "liquidationist," for example, was one who argued that the Party should abandon its exclusiveness and welcome all men and women of good will and commitment. A "tailist" was to Lenin a typical social democratic slob who went hunting where the ducks were, that is, found out what the masses wanted and attempted to implement their demands. Hence they came in as the "tail" of the organization rather than as its overlords. "Economism" was a little of both.

Some Nazi once observed that when he heard the word "culture," he reached for his revolver. The equivalent conditioned reflex in the Marxist-Leninist world has been triggered by "spontaneity." Not only is a spontaneous mass movement likely to fall into the hands of "opportunists," as

Boston, May 7
—May Day in
Poland must

Marx suggested of the French Revolution, but its existence is also an indication the cadres were not on their toes, were not alert in the exercise of their leadership. In the Stalin era an accusation of "spontaneity" was rapidly followed by a bullet in the skull.

Theory aside, the Polish May Day jamboree has baleful implications for Moscow. To revert to an earlier analogy, in Moscow parades the population plays a rent-a-crowd function. The parade will doubtless contain a contingent from the Kirov steelworks, which exceeded its norm by 150 per cent, and one from the Vera Zazulich state farm, where happy peasants and tractors brought in a record crop. But the line between the *apparatchiks*, the Party cadres, and the people is as rigid as it was under the czars.

Therefore, the sight of Polish boss Kania mingling jovially with the people was to the Moscow professionals horrendous: not only is the Polish Communist Party "revisionist" in the sense of suffering from "liquidationism," "economism," and "tailism," but it also reeks of petty bourgeois nationalism. With the Party becoming identified with the working-class and peasantry, Poland could go off like a Claymore mine.

FOR additional ulceration, throw in the Polish Catholic Church as the glue. Remember the crosses installed outside the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to honor the workers martyred by the security forces? Crosses? Why, the next thing that will happen is the Polish Party Congress will open with a high Mass. And that damned national anthem, which seem to be coming back into vogue.

What gives Polish "revisionism"—the heresy Warsaw has now been accused of, which normally carries the death penalty—its distinctive character is both historical and geographical. Thirty-eight years ago this month the Jews of Warsaw revolted in a desperate, hopeless rejection of Hitler's "final solution." They chose their own. Thirty-seven years ago this August the Polish Home Army rose, fought the Nazis valiantly for almost two months—while the Red Army watched clinically from across the Vistula—and then went down with 250,000 dead.

Poland remembers. So do the Russians. The Poles will not go gentle into the good night; they will tear the place apart. Strategically there would be a Warsaw-less Pact, a hole in the map decorated by torn up railroad connections to East Germany and Czechoslovakia, sabotage of military depots, and other measures of revenge. Poles have been dreaming of for centuries. Lenin curses, Rosa chuckles, and the Politburo fibrillates: Polish "revisionism" could be fatal to Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. □

A SCHMIDT- BRANDT BRAWL

Boston, July 7—German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has always been noted for

his temper. Thus it is little short of marvellous that he hasn't hauled off and decked the top leadership of his Social Democratic Party: Willy Brandt, Hans Jürgen Wischnewski, and Egon Bahr.

This merry trio just got back from Moscow, where they were greeted with warmth not seen since Stalin greeted Ribbentrop in 1939. They practically had a love-in with Lennie Brezhnev and emerged suggesting the United States was unduly agitated by Soviet behavior.

Brandt, who is chairman both of the German Social Democratic Party and the Socialist International, has become a kind of international nuisance. He and his friend Austrian Socialist Chancellor Bruno Kreisky held a friendly session with Yasser Arafat of the PLO a while back and endorsed recognition of the organization as the legitimate bargaining agency for the Palestinian Arabs.

Then Willy decided he was the idea man to straighten out the mess in Central America and put an end to this hysterical American insistence that the Salvadoran rebels were not dedicated, barefoot peasants, but were armed and inspired by Moscow's Caribbean capo, Fidel Castro. This one came a cropper because Wischnewski, who was sent on a fact-finding mission, got an earful from Fidel himself.

Castro said sure he was sending guns and other hardware to the Salvadoran rebels, asserted he would continue to do so, and hinted that the rebels might accept a ceasefire and negotiations for a

"political solution"—but only as a tactic which would enable them to regroup. This didn't stop Brandt from calling a meeting in Amsterdam where the Socialist International called for a "political solution."

There was a humorous aspect to the *New York Times's* coverage of this session which is too good to omit: they sent their European wine expert to cover the conference, and he announced that Ted Kennedy, George McGovern, and Ronald Delums were there. They were at a different socialist conference in Washington!

Brandt's general shenanigans, however, pale in significance when compared with his special role in what must be considered a campaign to decouple the Western Europeans from the United States. Partly this is an ego problem: it was Chancellor Brandt who launched the Federal Republic on the "Ostpolitik" course of reconciliation with the Communist German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union. The most concrete result of this has been that West Germans have been allowed to ransom (at about \$45,000 a head) relatives trapped in the East.

East Germany, on the other hand, has had a field day, becoming an invisible member of the Common Market and getting substantial low-interest credits. Also, this mood of relaxation has led to increasing security problems for NATO. After all, Brandt left office in what passes in Germany for disgrace because his closest confidant turned out to be an East German, that is KGB, officer.

THERE have been persistent rumors that the top-secret design of Britain's Cobham tank armor has been passed East, and last week this seemed to be confirmed when four German spies were arrested for passing on the specs for the Leopard tank, which was to be equipped with the revolutionary plastic armor.

There are two possible reactions to being double-crossed by Moscow: the first is to get furious and write off the account. The second is to insist that, properly understood, Moscow didn't double-cross you. Brandt has taken the latter route and told the press on his recent visit with Brezhnev that the Soviet leader "trembles where world peace is concerned" and that the real cause of Moscow's irritability is that "they still don't know what the Americans want."

Well, as the Duke of Wellington remarked when someone greeted him as "Mr. Smith," "Anyone who will believe that, will believe anything." The Soviets have a carefully crafted scenario designed to get us to tear up our plans to install Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. In return they will not increase the number of SS-20s (estimated at around 250)

which currently have Europe completely out of competition. These are extremely accurate, mobile, MIRVed, weapons which, if not countered, could end the defense of Europe before it started.

To borrow a line from Rousseau, I see no reason to force the Europeans to be free. If Brandt's views are representative of the majority of Europeans who know not Hitler or Stalin—and events elsewhere suggest they may be—we must reformulate our policy to conform to reality. □

PROGRESSIVE TERRORISM

Boston, Aug. 19— I have been listening carefully—and even bought an ear trumpet in case my hearing was weak—for the outraged screams from the usual chorus over the present epidemic of drumhead courts-martial in Iran. Every day we hear the tally of "counter-revolutionaries" and "agents of Satan" who have been shot. Yet those who whooped and screamed about the wicked deeds of the Shah's secret police seem to have ideological aphasia.

Even though Khomeini's executioners have now turned left in their quest for traitors, there is a strange stillness. When the Shah was overthrown, for example, one Michael Parenti of the Institute for Policy Studies gave the Iranian revolution a rave review on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times*. It was almost a poetic vision of progressive singing tomorrows. Parenti's song seems muted.

For the benefit of those who tuned in late, I was never an advance-man for the late Shah. However, in the fall of 1978 I took a hard look at the social forces supporting Khomeini and concluded they were opposing the Shah for reactionary reasons: he had followed a course of modernization, given women rights, engaged in land reform, and bashed the medieval mullahs when they tried to block his "white revolution."

At that time I warned the simplistic Left, the romantic fans of a non-existent "progressive" majority in Iran, that they were in symbolic terms countersigning their own death warrants when they cheered Khomeini on. Parenti, of course, is in an American safe-house—by now he has probably started writing eulogies to the noble Salvadoran rebels. But his Iranian counterparts are currently getting the chop.

As usual, the Soviets are completely cynical: they supported the Shah; they will play along with the mullahs and await a target of opportunity. Their ideal scenario would be civil war, with the eventual Balkanization of Iran into its tribal and religious sub-entities. All they want is a government in Iran strong enough to con-

tinue shipments of natural gas through the pipelines to the USSR.

To return to the paralysis of protest—so different from the worldwide orchestration on right-wing Latin American regimes—the problem is that the Lefties dug themselves into a pit by their initial hosannahs for the Ayatollah and his crusade of barbarism. Once you have applauded "progressive terrorism," it is hard to throw the gears into reverse and say, "Sorry about that. In fact they are a crew of reactionary monsters."

Moreover, assuming the overthrow of the Shah was the ultimate good, there is nothing in Marxist-Leninist doctrine against the systematic use of terror. Note Lenin's advice on how to run a well-organized economy: "Not a single rogue [is] to be at liberty, all are to be kept in prison or put to compulsory labor of the hardest kind. . . . In one place half a score of rich, a dozen rogues, half a dozen workers who shirk their work . . . will be put in prison." Elsewhere, he continued, "they will be put to cleaning latrines" or "one out of two idlers will be shot on the spot." Khomeini likes the cure, but his moral majority has a different hit list: pimps, prostitutes, pornographers, pederasts, pushers, and finally pluralists, opponents of a totalitarian theocracy. These are to be given fair revolutionary trials and executed.

When in 1978 I first expressed doubts about the character of the Iranian revolution, a number of intelligent, middle-class radical Iranian students in this country accused me of being "pro-Shah." They had never seen women in chadors except the family servants who came in daily from the slums of Teheran, and they understandably hated the brutal aspects of the Shah's dominion. I hope they are not on the current butcher's bill: they were young, idealistic, historically illiterate, and deserved time to learn.

I replied I was not pro-Shah, but anti-Khomeini, and felt they should save their enthusiasm for a better cause. I then gave them a question to consider, if they would stop chanting long enough to think. In February 1934, the clerico-fascist Dollfuss government of Austria literally declared war on the socialist municipality of Vienna, using cannon to end resistance in public housing. On July 25, 1934, the Austrian Nazis murdered Dollfuss and called for a coup against his successor, Kurt von Schuschnigg. Query: Should the underground and outlawed socialists have backed the Nazis? The socialists, of course, did not, and I suggested that anyone who said "yes" should apply to the Institute for Policy Studies for a fellowship, and avoid the real world. □

(King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

The Encyclical and the Unions

On
The Right

New York, Sept. 21—It is not easy even to get hold of a copy of the Pope's 99-page document on labor unions (*Laborum Exercens*, is the name of the encyclical), and translations into English of papal literature never yield John-Jane-Gyp answers to vexing questions, nor should they be expected to do so. What usually happens is that lobbyists of one particular social view, if the encyclical tends in their direction, celebrate it as the Final Word on the subject; while lobbyists of another point of view either read the encyclical "differently," or stress that it is merely one of many, the meaning of the others relevant in order to establish the context.

But with all the hoopla over the weekend caused by the AFL-CIO, it is wise to stress one or two things about this encyclical.

The first is, although Poland is never anywhere mentioned, that it is both unrealistic and wrong to suppose that a Polish Pope was not influenced, at this moment in history, to recognize that what hope there is for justice of any kind in Poland lies at this moment with an organization called Solidarity—and that it is a labor union. [See also Michael Novak's analysis, p. 1211.]

This means, in Poland, and could mean elsewhere, a very great deal. A labor union can be viewed as a mediating institution. On the one hand is government, on the other labor. In totalitarian societies there isn't, really, anything in between—since management (a separate factor under capitalism) is merely an appendage of government. Therefore any desire to strengthen institutions that stand between the government and a total influence over the individual should be encouraged; and one of these institutions is the labor union. Another is the church. A third is the university. A fourth is the press. The same reasoning that sustains much of the present encyclical would sustain complementary encyclicals, arguing the virtues of a free church, a free academy, and a free press.

It is very difficult to see how, for instance, the Pope's encyclical is of much help to the labor union movement in Great Britain. Because that movement

is, really, a theology, more than anything else. It is dominated by a few dozen men and women who wish to transmute the power they exercise in their capacity as labor leaders into power to govern the lives of all citizens, to allocate wages, to set priorities, to write laws governing any numbers of things—to create heaven on earth. In fact it is safe to say that such men as Tony Benn would like to ride into power to set up a society more like Poland's than like our own, and choose to do this using labor unions as a vehicle.

Any institution can behave irresponsibly—that much is a cliché. But seen in the light of the current encyclical it is all important to stress that when Lane Kirkland gets up and seeks in behalf of the American working class to denounce measures aimed at fighting inflation and encroaching statism he is adapting to his own narrow use of the labor-union movement. And, indeed, its failure to grow in recent years is undoubtedly the result of a penetration by the workers of its illicit powers. Lane Kirkland's moral backing of the controllers, who thought nothing of breaking the law and bringing international traffic to a standstill, suggests the lengths to which he is prepared to go. To say, the union first, last, and always, is as morally unhealthy as to say, the state, first, last, and always. Or: business, first, last, and always.

CERTAIN lines of the encyclical have been singled out as saying something or other. E.g., "Capital should be at the service of labor and not labor at the service of capital." The trouble with a sentence like that is that in practice it simply does not mean anything. Here (let us say) is a million dollars' worth of capital, and here (let us say) is a virginial tract of land best suited for the production of tobacco. The two find each other, and the result is an increase in the production of tobacco—and an increase in lung cancer and emphysema and heart trouble. Is that what the Pope's talking about?

Oh, they'll chew over these things, 99 pages of them. But meanwhile you have a precis. □

VOTE YES ON AWACS

New York, Sept 18—I see, in the AWACS for Saudi Arabia, a long and tangled

shadow of symbolism, and that is a pity

Because upon reflection—and this is written by someone whose criticisms of Saudi Arabia are on the record—Congress should authorize the sale.

Here are the salient considerations:

1. Do we desire that Saudi Arabia should have the information it would get by the use of the AWACS?

2. Is the security of Israel threatened by the AWACS?

3. Is the prestige of the United States Government jeopardized by a refusal to sell the AWACS?

If the answers to the above are Yes No, and Yes—then we should go through with the proposed deal.

In geopolitical terms, Saudi Arabia is important as the principal source of Western oil reserves. These reserves need to be protected as obviously as we need to protect the economic life of our allies. As things now stand, the Saudis would receive two to four minutes warning from the land-based Saudi radar installations in the event the Soviet Union decided to cripple Saudi oil facilities, which are congested in a small area of the kingdom. With AWACS on duty, this critical interval rises to 15 minutes, during which Saudi airplanes—and its allies—can get launched in order to provide cover for the fields.

Now if that were the whole of the problem, presumably Congress would vote overwhelmingly for the sale. But critics argue the offensive capability of these AWACS in respect of Israel.

More mystery, it would seem, attaches to the AWACS in question than is reasonable. They are in one sense formidable intelligence gatherers, but there is a definite limit to what they can accomplish. They are, after all, Boeing 707s. Their radars were designed sometime in the early Sixties. Their computers, though adequate, are only a stage or two more refined than the kind of thing you can get at Radio Shack.

What is of course special is the software, and some critics claim that if the airplanes fell into enemy hands—if

Saudi Arabia were to go, say, the way of Iran—the loss would be irreparable. Wrong. The software is designed around codes that could be re-ciphered overnight.

You see—and here the sales talk is best given in a whisper—the Saudi AWACS have to do not only with the security of the Saudi oil fields, but with our comprehensive presence in the area. The AWACS are viewed primarily as an instrument for the preservation of the Saudis' treasures: but also as an adjunct of our intelligence. If the Soviet Union elected to pounce on Saudi Arabia, it would not be the Saudis alone who could deter it. Our presence would be indispensable. But a technical and military cooperation between the United States and the Saudis must be exactly that, a cooperation that pre-empts the Saudis' alternative. Which is, quite simply, to turn to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Begin cannot seriously believe that the United States is going to risk the security of Israel. He is playing symbolic stakes. And so are a number of congressmen and senators. Begin wants to prove to his people that any deal in the Middle East involving another power, he is in a position to veto. The congressmen wish to register that no conceivable opponents running for public office can outdo the incumbents in servility to Mr. Begin. It is not right. The haunting part of it is that it isn't right for Israel, either. Because the strength of the American presence in the area is the principal source of Israeli security. Mr. Eugene Rostow, than whom no stauncher friend of Israel was ever bred, is (thankfully) in charge of arms-control programs for the Reagan Administration. His wholehearted backing of the AWACS deal deserves considerable respect. Senator Packwood, who is heading the opposition, wears another hat: he is in charge of the Republican Senate re-election committee. Gentlemen, please behave. □

HEYDAY FOR THE SKEPTICS

New York, Sept. 28
—The editorial world is up in arms over the Reagan Crisis.

"The panic," observes Mr. Tom Wicker of the *New York Times*, "is the panic of those who have followed Mr. Reagan not wisely but too well." And, opposite, the editorial page said, "And how ungrateful it is for recent tax favors done. How unmindful of the Republican debacles to come. Socko! It's all very silly, of course, but understandable. After passing the largest tax and spending cuts in history a month ago, the Repub-

licans were popping with pride and already counting next year's election victories. But the prospect of ever-larger budget deficits could not be hidden from investors. Now, with the financial markets depressed, inflationary expectations still high, and interest rates threatening recession, the President's party is seized with panic."

Well, well.

The record of the Reagan Administration has yet to be made, and there are certainly visible pitfalls ahead. But the record of the *New York Times* on how to go about economic reform is, unfortunately for it, very much a matter of public record.

DURING 1978, for instance, the *Times* vigorously opposed a diminution in the capital-gains tax rate. Congress nevertheless acted. A year later, on December 4, 1979, the *New York Times* published an editorial: "Capital Gains Tax Cut to Nowhere."

And the text?

"Remember all the clamor for the cut in the capital-gains tax last year? Its sponsors insisted a reduction would send investors rushing to risk their money on new business plants and equipment recovery. Despite widespread skepticism, their logic prevailed and the tax on capital gains—the profits for long-term investment—was reduced from 50 to 40 per cent.

"Well, it didn't work. The proportion of America's resources devoted to investment has not increased during 1979, and it is expected to decline in the coming recession. Contrary to the predictions about venture capital flowing to new and riskier businesses, there has been no increase in the number of newly incorporated firms. No one knows whether extra capital is flowing into

small businesses, but as yet there is no sign that these businesses are expanding plant and equipment."

That was almost two years ago. We now have the figures. Remember that small firms (under twenty employees) provide 66 per cent of all new jobs. Indeed, 81.5 per cent of new jobs are created by firms with one hundred or fewer employees:

1977 (under the old law): \$42.6 million in equity capital raised by small companies. Number of companies that went public: thirteen.

1979 (new law): \$183 million; 46 public offerings.

1980: \$821 million; 135 public offerings.

1981 (annualized): \$2.2 billion; 348 public offerings.

Let's hope that the critics of the 1981 tax reduction prove as incompetent as the critics of the 1978 tax reduction.

Still, keep your eyes on the central facts:

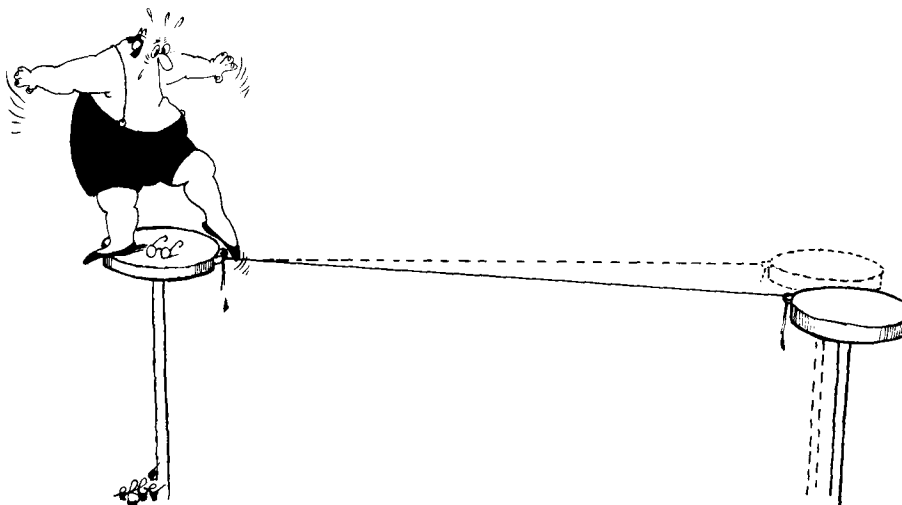
1. The great Reagan budget cut was only about 5 per cent of the budget. That is good as a trend—but only if it is to be a trend.

2. The tax cut, at \$80 billion, is less than the tax increase would have been through inflation.

3. The sum of items 1 and item 2 above sends out to the market the signal: This isn't enough. The market is the best judge of the situation.

4. To lower interest rates right now, via the Fed, would mean to accelerate those forces of skepticism that are now deserting the equity market. In very short order, interest rates would be higher than ever. What is at stake isn't whether a sound economy is pleasing to investors, but whether a democracy will give us a sound economy. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)



* Frans de Boer, Amsterdam

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

- A. Founder of a wax museum, London
B. Seat of Gilmer County, Georgia
C. A non-Sherlock Holmes enthusiast?
D. To set up a new itinerary
E. An important insurance-company employee
F. Taxes
G. Aaron's brother-in-law
H. Becomes manifest
I. Body mentioned in Second Amendment
J. Sets right by adjusting to facts
K. An ophthalmologist in Breslau (1853-1927)
L. Site of a cathedral, eastern England
M. WINE LOT (anagram)
N. Jeeves's headquarters?
O. Italian poet (1474-1533)
P. A primitive vessel used by Plains Indians
Q. To be unfaithful to a spouse or lover

52 1 157 154 24 131 9
14 10 98 56 152 67 93
16 69 115 153 212 95 168
28 201 70 77 120 175 208
39 214 55 78 99 96 11
43 38 182 215 97 121 165
57 169 13 177 139 165 2
159 216 101 79 15 197 189
178 150 186 71 221 207 80
187 102 176 17 114 40 209
32 171 58 198 222 108 190
84 119 223 49 109 15 59
91 60 103 81 134 125 41
6 164 26 82 104 121 213
73 132 142 27 224 87 126
100 167 18 42 179 29 61
112 196 191 19 185 127 62

- R. Worked out
S. Town in St. Joseph County, Michigan
T. Unscramble RIVETS and add direction
U. Awkward
V. Town near Belém, Brazil
W. A cargo vessel carrying oranges, apples, bananas, etc.
X. The process of projecting images from a compound microscope upon a barium screen in a dark chamber
Y. A valved brass musical instrument
Z. A winning combination in dice of 7 or 11 on the first throw
a. To coerce
b. A region in Eastern Europe and Asia
c. City in Suffolk, England
x. A member of a secret Sicilian criminal group
y. Something that offends the sight
z. In a dulcet manner

122 133 210 206 200 20 3
149 4 138 155 50 195 64
151 143 160 128 135 181 30
205 31 5 146 161 21 88
220 44 117 173 105 72 89
116 90 34 147 7 183 180
140 144 51 123 163 217 65
156 35 22 53 124 118 202
193 54 36 188 106 136 162
63 184 145 110 203 148 211
170 199 192 45 204 33 83
174 158 66 74 37 129 111
68 75 23 113 46 141 85
94 92 8 76 194 47 218
130 86 107 172 219 137 48

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram (above) by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1224 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

				1 A	2 G	3 R	4 S	5 U	6 N	7 W	8 Y	9 A	10 B	11 E		12 F	13 G	14 B	
15 H	16 C	17 J	18 P	19 Q	20 R	21 U	22 Y		23 X	24 A	25 L	26 N	27 O	28 D		29 P	30 Y		31 U
32 K	33 B		34 W	35 Y	36 Z	37 C	38 F	39 E	40 J	41 M		42 P	43 F	44 V	45 B	46 X	47 Y	48 Z	
49 L	50 S	51 X		52 A	53 Y	54 Z	55 E		56 B	57 G		58 K	59 L	60 M	61 P	62 Q		63 A	64 S
65 X	66 C		67 B	68 X	69 C	70 D	71 I	72 V	73 O		74 C	75 X	76 Y		77 D	78 E	79 H		80 I
81 M	82 N	83 B		84 L	85 X	86 Z		87 O	88 U	89 V	90 W	91 M	92 Y		93 B	94 Y	95 C	96 E	97 F
	98 B	99 E	100 P	101 H	102 J		103 M	104 N		105 V	106 Z	107 Z		108 K	109 L	110 A	111 C	112 Q	113 X
114 J	115 C		116 W	117 V	118 Y		119 L	120 D	121 N		122 R	123 X	124 Y	125 M	126 O	127 Q	128 T	129 C	
130 Z	131 A	132 O	133 R	134 M	135 T	136 Z	137 Z		138 S	139 G	140 X		141 X	142 O	143 T	144 X	145 A	146 U	147 W
148 A	149 S		150 I	151 T		152 B	153 C	154 A	155 S		156 Y	157 A		158 C	159 H	160 T	161 U	162 Z	163 X
164 N	165 F		166 G	167 P		168 C	169 G	170 B	171 K	172 Z	173 V		174 C	175 D		176 J	177 G		178 I
179 P	180 W	181 T		182 F	183 W	184 A	185 Q	186 I	187 J	188 Z	189 H		190 K	191 Q	192 B		193 Z	194 Y	195 S
	196 Q	197 H		198 K	199 B	200 R	201 D		202 Y	203 A		204 B	205 U	206 R	207 I	208 D	209 J		210 R
211 A	212 C	213 N		214 F	215 F	216 H	217 X	218 Y	219 Z	220 V	221 I	222 Y	223 L	224 O					



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